SOCIAL RECLAMATION

A STUDY IN SERVICE

BY

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PREFACE

THIS book is the second in a series written for the social study circles which now exist in many colleges and congregations. For this purpose it needs to be short. To those who have previous knowledge of any branch of work here mentioned it must seem most inadequate, if not altogether devoid of freshness. I shall be content if the general reader finds it a guide to the main branches of social service, suggestive of some ruling principles, and a stimulus to further study. The usual notes for use in circles are published in separate form.

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M. S.

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INTRODUCTION

In a previous volume[1] the author attempted to sketch the problem of poverty. Facts affecting the life of the poor were stated with great plainness as a call to contrition, because we have allowed these things to be. In that book the attempt was made to show how great a physical handicap the poor suffer because of their environment, and how deeply this affects their moral and spiritual possibilities; how disabling is the environment in which poor children are brought up and form their early habits and frame their first ideas of the world, and how family life is undermined by the want of a proper home; how those who labour in the lower ranks are handicapped by the uninspiring character of their work, by its frequent irregularity, and particularly by lack of apprenticeship to any trade which might secure the future for them; and how the need which grows out of these conditions is sometimes aggravated rather than diminished by the efforts of those who minister to them in material or spiritual things.

The book was a study of the sad and difficult side of the life of the poor; even in treating of the efforts for their relief it concentrated attention upon the defects rather than upon the qualities of such help. It was a

[1] *Social Degradation*, Student Christian Movement, 1s. net.

book which demanded a sequel. Therefore, in the present volume the author endeavours to bring to the reader's notice the various forces which in all their hopefulness and promise are at work to relieve or to remove this state of degradation. It is an expansion of the call to serve with which the former volume closed. It assumes familiarity with the conditions which call for redress. It assumes largely, though in some respects it develops more fully, the claim which these evils fasten upon those who are better favoured. Its appeal is founded upon the opportunities for service which are now presented to those who are prepared to help;—opportunities so varied that no one need be without a vocation.

The title of this book calls to mind the picture of those who, in various ways, have wrecked their lives, and who must be rescued from some misery into which they have fallen. We think of the criminal classes; but those who murder and steal do not constitute the heart of the social problem. We think of those who are indulgent and debased in personal habits, a class calling urgently for help. We think of those who have drifted into a life of shiftless incompetence or idleness, the industrial wastrels, one of the sad, characteristic products of our modern civilisation.

We do not, however, approach this subject until late in the book, in the fifth chapter. Before we come to this problem of wrecked life, we deal with the different stages in which evil influences have been working to produce it. From stage to stage we watch the destruc-

tive tendencies which successively operate through infancy, school-days and adolescence, and the efforts which are being made to prevent their consequences. At each stage these efforts avail for many; and if they fail there is still hope, though against greater and ever greater odds.

In Chapter I. we consider the environment of the infant. So much depends upon physique and health that we look with anxiety upon the dangers which beset children in their early years, because of the ignorance of their parents, and we study with eagerness the agencies instituted to remove this ignorance and to protect the children's lives. With similar intent we watch the forces at work to protect the threatened health of the parents both as workers in factories and shops, and in the insanitary homes and neighbourhoods where they are forced to live. The first chapter is a study of the agencies for creating better homes and healthier children.

In Chapter II. we study the problem of education. The children whose future is in danger are those whose homes afford them little interest and little training. For them the only hope lies in a school training which shall both develop their practical faculties, and give them right and new interests to dominate their later lives. The influences of their environment are all in the direction of a restless, excited and ungoverned future. They may easily grow up without any great motive to make them industrious and serviceable members of the community, without any capacity for using whatever

opportunities of leisure and enjoyment may come within their reach. We look therefore to the possibility of the elementary school curriculum and to the work of the school-teacher for neutralising these dangerous tendencies.

Chapter III. deals with the lives of boys just after their schooldays have ended. It is a perilous period, aggravated enormously by many things for which the public, rather than the individual, is responsible. We take boys from school at an age when they are not physically and morally ready for the duties of life. For most of them, modern industry does not at present provide a period of apprenticeship. They drift into occupations which are valuable neither as discipline of character nor as sureties of future usefulness. Here we study the agencies which are at work to carry the education on to a later stage in the boys' lives, providing them with some apprenticeship to labour, and with those social agencies, clubs, hostels, and the like, through which life may be enriched and character formed.

In Chapter IV. we consider the man who in the prime of life finds himself at some industrial crisis, or through some misfortune unable to maintain his family without outside help. It is from men under such stress of circumstances that the unemployables and the vicious are frequently recruited. It is of the utmost importance that our civilisation should provide some means by which, in the hour of difficulty, they may be met by friendly help. This help is not exclusively or chiefly monetary help. It is always essential that it

be the help of friendship. Counsel and encouragement are needed. The true aid is that given by the man who shares what he possesses as a natural act of friendship. Those who have the benefits of education and of nurture in true homes have an inheritance of character and a wealth of interests with which they can bless the lives of the poor; but it is a service which can be rendered best by those who can look for riches of other kinds, it may be, coming back to them through their mutual friendship.

In Chapter V. we reach the subject of our industrial and social failures. Whatever be the cause of their need, it calls for help from all who possess the riches of character and experience in which there is a secret of recovery. Those especially who have an inheritance in Jesus Christ are called to give compassionate help to these lepers of modern days. Pioneers have proved that effective reclamation is possible for the most needy. True, their efforts need much extension and wider recognition among the public with its less enlightened activities for dealing with the distressed and criminal population. Yet they are there with their cheering message to all who are anxious about the future of their country, and with their summons to all who are ready to help.

Personal Service is the refrain of these five chapters. They constitute a call to men and women to the rescue of those who are fallen, the protection of those who are in peril and the strengthening of those who are weak. At every turn the opportunity for service is emphasised. Opportunities abound, both for the leisure time of those

who have other occupations, and as careers for those who are ready to devote themselves entirely to the work. For the benefit of recruits these forms of service are tabulated in an appendix along with some directions to the sources of more detailed information. For the guidance of those who are already at work, a number of Societies carrying out work mentioned in the book are briefly described and their addresses given. It will be understood that the book deals with such a variety of work that it could not for a moment pretend to say enough about any one branch to serve as a handbook for those who embark upon it.

Chapter VI. opens with a plea for more widespread and compassionate care of those who are incompetent and weak among us. Their incompetence and weakness are in many cases our responsibility; nor are we in our happier circumstances always free from the defects which have produced disaster in their more exposed lives! But one cannot dwell upon the painful thought of all this misery without asking why it exists. The blame does not seem to lie in any one quarter. It is not primarily because the poor are thriftless, or because the rich are extravagant; nor because workmen are inefficient or masters unjust; nor yet because law is inadequate and administration lax. Behind all these reasons, in each of which there lies a measure of truth, we find a selfish carelessness pervading our common life. We are not interested in each other. Neighbours may live in hovels, employées may be poisoned, women may suffer wrong, the weak may be persecuted, fellow-

citizens may be starved in body and racked in spirit—and we do not care. We do not care that the struggle is so fierce for many of our brothers. Life is very bitter for many who do not outwardly fail: for where one has fallen many are wounded. Whole classes are perennially in fear of disaster. We have not enough of the spirit of brotherly kindness to remove the stumbling-blocks which lie in the way of the weak and to make the crooked places straight for the oppressed. Is it any wonder that we lack the power "to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound?" We are blind leading the blind. Our whole life is leavened with the leaven of evil. "Doth the fountain send forth from the same opening sweet water and bitter? Can a fig-tree yield olives, or a vine figs? Neither can salt water yield sweet." Many believe that the evils of society cannot be removed without considerable social reconstruction, but what warrant have we to look for a social order more truly informed by the spirit of brotherhood? What hope have we that the leaven of kindness will work where now the leaven of selfishness is working? We cannot hope in ourselves. We have no power to help ourselves. We are straitened in ourselves, but we are not straitened in God. The spirit of brotherhood is fully expressed in the life of Jesus Christ our Lord. His spirit is promised to His followers. If we are ready to follow Him more closely in the ordering of our lives, His Spirit will be given to us. As we draw nearer to Him, God will draw nearer to us. Learning the lesson of our sonship to God we

shall learn the lesson of our brotherhood with one another. With this thought we close. Without faith we should be without hope. Upon our life are the marks of sin and death, but the promise of life is in God.

SOCIAL RECLAMATION

Chapter I

HOME AND INFANCY

Ruskin has taught us that the measure of a nation's wealth lies in the well-being of its citizens. National strength is built up of the lives of strong men and women. This is an age in which the physical basis of life is understood as never before. If life is to be vigorous, it must first be physically sound. "The first requisite of life is to be a good animal," said Herbert Spencer, "and to be a nation of good animals is the first condition of national prosperity." But a strong manhood presupposes a healthy childhood. The sources of strength are to be found in the days of infancy. The sources of weakness to be found there also. For this reason the solution of the social problem must begin with the great problem of childhood. "A child is the most plastic thing in the universe, impressionable as wax. Almost anything can be made of a child if you take it in hand early enough. Every criminal now dishonouring his Creator, every loafer, every drunkard disgracing the nation is a proof of neglected or wrongly directed childhood."

In view of this we have to face a very serious

situation when we turn to consider the physical condition of the poorest children of our population. Measuring by the sure standard of the death-rate we find that while anything above 80 infant deaths per 1000 per annum gives cause for alarm, the average rate for England and Wales of late years has been nearly 140 per 1000. For large tracts of London and in many large areas of our great industrial towns the rate is 160 per 1000, and in smaller areas it rises far beyond this figure. It is estimated that there are 40,000 unnecessary infant deaths annually in England and Wales. Behind this tale of mortality lies a picture of weakness and ill-health for those who will see. Sickness and debility keep company with death. "The circumstances which kill 120,000 infants every year, maim and injure the children which survive. Some only survive a few months, but others linger on, many of them as brands plucked from the burning, and bear the mark of death upon them. It is idle to wonder at physical degeneration if the majority of the nation's infants have, before they grow up, to pass under such unfavourable influences as are able to kill 150 in every thousand."[1]

We are not here concerned with the causes of these dark facts, but with the work done to counteract their effects. If we would have a nation of really healthy children, we must first have healthy homes in which they may be brought up by healthy parents. They must be protected from disease by the care of efficient and strong mothers, and to this end the lives of their parents must

[1] *Social Degradation*, p. 10.

be guarded from injury and lived under healthy conditions. Our main interest in this chapter being the protection of child-life, we shall therefore be bound to consider many situations in which the child's parents are the chief figures. We shall see how homes may be raised to a better standard of health and decency, how mothers may be trained in the care of their children, and how the lives of work-people may be guarded during the hours of work.

The Home

There is no greater menace to child life than the overcrowded and insanitary homes of the people. This is without doubt the main cause of the high death rate amongst children, and if it is to be removed, the conditions of these homes must be transformed. It is impossible to say how much is due to overcrowding and how much to other insanitary features. Overcrowding is undoubtedly a very serious factor. It is said that there are three million people who live in overcrowded conditions in England and Wales. In London it is stated on good authority that there are half a million rooms less than are required for the working-class population. At the same time hundreds of houses stand empty in the most crowded districts, such as Stepney, and the better tenements that have been built to accommodate this population are not by any means full. In the riverside tenements in Bermondsey thirty per cent. of the rooms remain untenanted. That the problem is not to be met by the provision of fresh houses

is evident from the last fact. Thus, apart from the problem of paying the rents of "separate, decent and desirable" houses, there is the problem of creating in the mind of the slum dwellers a revulsion of feeling against living in dirty and huddled quarters. They have become habituated to their surroundings and are unwilling to change. For this reason it is of the first importance to deal with the occupied house and its tenant at the same time. When the desire for good houses has been awakened amongst the poor the extent of the need for new houses will gradually become evident.

Experience has proved that without forfeiting his profits, a landlord may put his property into repair, and do away with its insanitary features; he may make the necessary bathroom, wash-house, and other arrangements for cleanliness, and proper provision for the disposal of refuse; he may prevent overcrowding by registering the names, sex, and age, of the occupants, taking steps to know if other lodgers or relations are introduced into the house. All this may be done without necessarily raising rents, because the influence of a good landlord suffices to keep his tenants up to their duty towards his property. Incidentally he may do much to turn a disreputable district into a quiet and healthy one, building up a new public opinion in favour of clean and orderly ways.

The possibilities of improving houses by careful management were first proved by Miss Octavia Hill. Her system of rent-collecting has since been repeated in many quarters. We quote from a description of

the plan actually in practice in Edinburgh under the Housing Committee of the Edinburgh Social Union. Each property is bought in the name of the owner, who takes the entire risk. Payment of rent is strictly enforced, by which means a more regular return is obtained, and the injustice is avoided of making the thrifty suffer for the thriftless. When there is a surplus of rent, beyond what is needed for working expenses and to pay five per cent. interest on the capital, it is expended on the property. Improvements are carried out gradually, as they come to be appreciated. The principle is maintained throughout of bettering the condition of the poor, not by lowering their expenditure on rent (which would merely tend to depress the rate of wages), but by giving them greater value for their money, and thus accustoming them to a higher standard of comfort.

The following account of the steps found to be necessary in the transformation of one of the worst courts in Marylebone[1] is given by Miss Octavia Hill.

"Almost immediately after the purchase of the houses, we had the accumulated refuse of years carted away, the pavements in the yards and front areas were repaired, dust-bins cleared, the drains put in order, and water supplied. Such improvements as these are tolerably unspoilable, but for any of a more destructible nature it was better to wait. The importance of advancing slowly, and of gaining some hold over the people as a necessary accompaniment to any real

[1] This court was described in *Social Degradation*, on p. 54.

improvement in their dwellings, was perpetually apparent. Their habits were so degraded that we had to work a change in these before they would make any proper use of the improved surroundings we were prepared to give them. We had locks torn off, windows broken, drains stopped, dust-bins misused in every possible manner; even pipes broken, and water-taps wrenched away. This was sometimes the result of carelessness, and deeply rooted habits of dirt and untidiness; sometimes the damage was wilful. Our remedy was to watch the right moment for furnishing these appliances, to persevere in supplying them, and to get the people by degrees to work with us for their preservation. I have learned to know that people are ashamed to abuse a place they find cared for. They will add dirt to dirt till a place is pestilential, but the more they find done for it, the more they will respect it, till at last order and cleanliness prevail. It is this feeling of theirs, coupled with the fact that they do not like those whom they have learned to love, and whose standard is higher than their own, to see things which would grieve them, which has enabled us to accomplish nearly every reform of outward things that we have achieved; so that the surest way to have any place kept clean is to go through it often yourself. First I go at regular times, and then they clean to receive me, and have the pleasure of preparing for me, and seeing my satisfaction; then I go at unexpected times, to raise them to the power of having it always clean."[1]

[1] *Homes of the London Poor*, by Miss Octavia Hill, pp. 44-47.

The success of the plan depends upon careful superintendence by educated people, usually women, acting as the rent-collectors after due training for the purpose.[1] It is because of the personal sympathy between these visitors and the tenants that good results are to be obtained. There is always an obvious danger that they may not change dirty people into clean people, but merely lose their old tenants who dislike improvements and inquisitorial landlords, and take in families of a higher class. Abbey Buildings, Bermondsey, for example, were built to accommodate some of the poorest who were homeless by the demolition of property for railway extension, but they are now inhabited by quite a different class of people, who would under any circumstances be sanitary and law-abiding people. This is inevitable in some cases, but not by any means in every case, provided the management is wise and sympathetic.

Nineteen years' experience of this work in Edinburgh has fully proved its economic soundness. The return on the outlay in houses managed by the Social Union there varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 6 per cent. This is important, because one cannot hope that the burden of the housing of the mass of our industrial population can be undertaken as a philanthropic enterprise without return. The direct improvement in the property increases its value, making it worth a greater number of years' purchase. The improvement

[1] The qualifications for this work are described in *Management of Houses for the Poor*, by Miss Octavia Hill. Copies may be obtained from the author at her home, 190 Marylebone Road, London, W.

in the lives of the occupiers represents an improvement in the character of the neighbourhood, and so increases the value of property there. The strict system of rent-collecting ensures that rents are duly paid, an unusual circumstance in quarters where there is so much poverty and so much "flitting." Those who manage property thus are able to charge a percentage on the rents collected for factorage, and yet pay over the profits already quoted. The system is spreading in many quarters, and everywhere it results in setting up a better standard of house property for private enterprise to copy, and for public opinion to enforce: a standard of the utmost value to local administration in its task of securing health and decency in poor quarters.

But supposing that the landlord is unwilling to take this trouble or to let others take this trouble with his property, there are certain things which he may be compelled to do. Anything which makes seriously for ill-health comes under the legal term "Nuisance," and the landlord can be compelled to remove such nuisances. The cost of any structural repairs so undertaken falls upon the owner, not upon the tenant. For weekly tenants the owner is in addition responsible for cleaning, whitewashing and repapering the interior of his property at reasonable periods. But the law does not make him responsible for keeping it clean, or he would more often have recourse to personal superintendence of his tenants on the plan mentioned above: the only sure way to cleanliness in many cases.

It has been said that it would have been better for

he workman if his home had been inspected and his factory had not, so great is the difference between the way in which the public authority looks after the factory and the home. The bad landlord is not so closely watched as the bad employer or the bad salesman. Yet should not the man who lets a house that produces disease be treated in the same way as the man who sells diseased meat? At present the owner of the house is not liable for any defect until it has been notified to him by the "Local Authority"[1] which controls the housing conditions of his neighbourhood. Proceedings in this way are often difficult and dangerous to the tenant, who is nearly always the weaker party.

There are many houses which are beyond all ordinary repair. Under certain conditions the Local Authority has power to close such houses. It can do so in one of two ways. It may frame an improvement scheme, involving the purchase of the property condemned and its entire renovation, or the rebuilding of other houses in their place. This is very costly, and recourse to it has, in some cases, put a premium upon speculation in bad property, for lavish compensation is sometimes given to the owners of condemned houses. It is only justified when it is the only possible way of providing homes for the very poor or in order that it may create a standard by

[1] The Local Authority in Housing matters is either the Borough Council, the Urban District Council or the Rural District Council as the case may be. The County Council has certain powers of enforcement and regulation over the latter. See *Local Government* in the English Citizen Series (Macmillan, 3s. 6d., 1907), pp. 90, 136, and 210 ff.

which the surrounding conditions can be shamed and condemned. The alternative is to obtain a closing order against a house. The procedure in this case is cumbrous, as it is necessary for the Local Authority to obtain the order from the magistrates. Reformers would grant the power of closure to the Local Authority itself. As it is, there is not usually a sufficiently strong public opinion in favour of better housing to induce both the Local Authority and the magistrates to act.

A great difficulty in the way of improvement is the difficulty of tracing responsibility. There are many men who would not allow their property to remain as it is if their responsibility for it were made public. The Bishop of Hereford has recently suggested that if it were made compulsory for the owner of a house to fix a plate upon it bearing his name, a revolution in house property would result. As it is, nuisances are only brought to light by inspection, and inspection is not undertaken in a systematic way. The right of entry into houses may be resisted by the tenant except where special cause can be shown. It is now proposed that compulsory house to house visitation should be made at stated periods, say once in five years.[1] Where this system of inspection is more widely practised, as in Holland and several of the provinces of Prussia, it has been found at once successful. Abuses have been merely notified and they have been put right without the need for recourse to law. This experience has been widespread and is

[1] Mr Burns' *Housing and Town Planning Bill*, 1909, price 5½d.; from Wyman & Sons.

leading to the extension of the system on the continent of Europe.

Those who know how many insanitary houses there are, know also that the number of cases reported is extremely small, and that the number of those which are dealt with is smaller still. For example, in Liverpool during the two years, 1903 and 1904, 37,443 nuisances were discovered through 19,362 complaints made by inhabitants, but no less than 162,921 nuisances were discovered as the result of a house-to-house inspection of 59,684 dwellings.[1]

This is so partly because public opinion is apathetic. The individual citizen possesses powers, it is true, for bringing abuses to the notice of the authorities. If he finds an insanitary house he may give notice at the Town Hall to the Sanitary Inspector or the Medical Officer of Health, whose duty it will then become to investigate the alleged evil. But it is often very difficult for an inspector to attack a well-known and influential landlord, particularly when the landlord is himself a member of the Committee by whom the inspector is employed! This difficulty is so common that special legislation is now proposed to deal with it. Bearing in mind also that inspectors are few, and that many of them have not their whole time to give to these duties, we can well understand that much that is wrong is overlooked. If the citizen finds that his complaint is not attended to he may try to compel action by appealing to the Local Authority, and if that fails, to the Local Government

[1] *Housing up to date*, by Alderman Thompson, p. 14.

Board. To do this the co-operation of twelve Ratepayers or two Justices of the Peace is necessary. This procedure is cumbrous and reformers propose to simplify it. In the present state of local administration it seems a wise reform to make the "Local Government Board" responsible for investigating areas where the death-rate is abnormally high, and in other ways, by a system of inspection, to stimulate the Local Authorities to act.[1]

Meantime the citizen who is concerned can do much on the Health Committee of his Local Authority or in connection with one of the numerous Health and Housing Associations now formed throughout the country.[2] The work of these Associations is to create a desire for better houses amongst those who have become habituated to living in slums, and then to see that good houses are provided, whether by the good management of landlords and rent-collectors, or, if need be, by the interference of the Local Authority. Sometimes the Local Authority will need to be stimulated to carry out its own elementary sanitary duties, for example in the cleansing of the streets: in many towns this is well done in the main thoroughfares, but in side streets and small courts, where more people live and refuse accumulates, it is not done with the same regularity or thoroughness. Bye-laws often need amendment to secure more sunlight and air for

[1] References to appointments mentioned in this book will be found in the Appendix.

[2] A list of Housing Associations is to be found on p. 170 of Alden & Hayward's Textbook on *Housing* (Headley Bros., 1s. net). This was correct in 1907. Later information can be obtained from the National Housing Reform Council. (See Appendix.)

new houses that are being built. A few Housing Associations promote the development of model suburbs in which the number of houses to the acre is kept down to ten or twelve and ample garden and recreation ground secured.

The Mother

"The aim of evolution," wrote Henry Drummond, "is the making of mothers." Of what use are clean and airy houses to children whose mothers are unfit to give them the necessary care? "If the world is bad," said George Macdonald, "it is because it is badly mothered." Particularly in the houses where degradation and incompetence have set their mark the want of motherhood is apparent. "When we remember the mother's ignorance and growing incapacity for home management, coupled with the handicap of serious overwork and incessant worry, we may well understand how she may fail to give to her child in its early years, any sense of well-being or parental care. In the intervals of wage-work and housework she is almost too weary to give attention to her child."[1] The neglect which these children suffer is due in part to the ignorance, and in part to the sheer inability of their parents to provide either the time or money which their children need. It is not usually due to wilful cruelty, though this cause is sufficient to require the vigilance of a small army of inspectors[2] and the imposition of new penalties by law.[3]

[1] *Social Degradation*, p. 68.

[2] National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

[3] *The Childrens' Act*, 1908, price 9½d., Wyman & Sons.

The father's responsibility for his family is not sufficiently emphasised by those who attempt to improve matters. Ignorance or want of control on his part frequently creates a situation with which the mother cannot possibly cope. But with this we cannot now deal. The mother on her part requires to be re-educated for her duties as a mother, although in many cases the incapacity of the mother must be frankly recognised and the care of her children transferred to other hands.

"The one most important step towards fitting mothers better to care for their infant children is the appointment under Medical Officers of Health, of health-visitors, and women sanitary inspectors." So ran the report of the Physical Deterioration Committee of 1904. The employment of health visitors is thus not of sufficiently long standing for its results to be tabulated and quoted, but it is undoubted that the system is working in many districts to reduce the infant death-rate. Health visitors are attached to the staff of the Medical Officer of Health, and their work should be distinguished from that of the school visitors or nurses whose work is connected with the Education Authority of their district, though perhaps in practice it would be well to combine the duties and allocate each visitor a smaller area,—the poor hate to have a number of different ladies prying about. Besides the paid workers there is an army of voluntary workers co-operating with them. In fifty-four places there are organisations which either co-operate with health departments or work independently, having

paid workers and a large number of honorary helpers. In some places, notably Cambridge, the visitation is carried out by a society with a thoroughly organised staff which entirely relieves the health department of this work. For ten years, Birmingham has employed seventeen health visitors. Sheffield, Huddersfield, Glasgow, Liverpool, Wakefield and Bradford are also notable for the work which they have done.

The duties of the health visitor are to advise mothers on the feeding and clothing of infants and children, and on their habits at play and at school, and to see that medical advice and nursing are procured for those who are sick.[1] She can give lessons in the nursing of children at home in times of sickness; she can explain the dependence of health upon cleanliness, the value of washing the teeth and ears, of opening windows and changing clothes, and can see that the mother has the necessary appliances for bathing and washing; she can explain the superiority of certain materials for clothes because of their warmth and cheapness, and can show the mother how to cut out economically and to patch and to mend neatly; she can teach the mother the benefit to health and the economy of using simple foods such as oatmeal, beans, lentils, or rice, and the opposite effects of stewed tea, fried fish, tinned meat or pickles, and may give

[1] The Syllabus of lectures for health visitors issued by the Battersea Polytechnic gives a good idea of the scope of the training required. The course includes hygiene, the care of infants and young children, physiology, first aid, home nursing, cookery and housewifery. Copies of the syllabus may be obtained from Miss Bideleux, Battersea Polytechnic, London, S.W.

valuable hints on cooking; incidentally she can do much to encourage temperance and thrift. Indeed she can do much more than give material aid and wise advice. If she possess personal sympathy and true ideals, she may sensibly affect the ideals of womanhood, of wifehood, and of motherhood, of those amongst whom she works. She can implant a new ideal of "home," and give new meaning to its duties, new motives for its cares. Hence the importance of character and personality in her work. "It is upon the fact of her personality that the success of her work depends."

In contemplating the excellent work that is being done by health visitors to redeem the all but lost qualities of motherhood amongst so many of the poor, we must not forget that this is after all but a sorry substitute for a sounder system of living in which girls would grow up naturally to understand how their homes should be managed, and how good a thing it is to fulfil the woman's function in the home.

Meantime we record a few of the methods adopted to train mothers in their duties. Here and there a "Mothers' Meeting," connected with Church or Chapel, is used to good advantage. The trained health visitor is called in, and systematic teaching is given. Much more is possible in this way. If the innumerable Mothers' Meetings were all so used, immense good would follow. Here and there a town has provided mothers with help in their duties. Yarmouth for example has encouraged mothers to attend evening classes

where washing, starching, ironing, cooking are taught, and the feeding and nursing of children are explained. Another interesting experiment is reported from Marylebone. Consultations are there arranged between the medical staff of the hospital and mothers, who are invited to bring their infants. The visitors of the Health Society co-operate to bring the mothers together. The babies are weighed and examined, and the mothers, besides being instructed in any special point which may arise, are helped in more general matters connected with the care and feeding of their children. The health visitors are themselves present so that they may be able to follow up the cases where instruction has been given.[1]

Many mothers must go to their work leaving little children behind with nobody to take care of them. We can imagine what happens. There have been instances in which mere infants have been locked into the house for the whole of the day, though this is now forbidden by law. It is more common that the child is locked out of the house, and left with a penny or half-penny to buy food in the middle of the day. To meet this need Day Nurseries are being established. Here the children are received in the early morning, cared for by competent nurses and properly fed. They play out of danger, they can sleep at suitable intervals, and often a good deal of attention is given to helping and

[1] These examples are taken from the pages of *Progress*, the sixpenny quarterly issued by the British Institute of Social Service.

guiding their games. We read of some ideal arrangements of this kind, with good gardens for playtime, and kindergarten teaching properly given to those who are old enough to be out of the nursing mother's care.

One of these Day Nurseries in Battersea claims to have benefited five hundred infants, and to have lowered the death rate of the district. Work of this kind calls for a good deal of voluntary service in attending to the children, in addition to the skilled and sometimes paid supervision that is necessary. While welcoming the increase of these Day Nurseries, because of the need of the moment, we cannot but lament their necessity. The utmost care is required lest such places should tempt mothers to forego their most sacred duties and privileges and should rob the country of its ideals of motherhood.

We may here refer to the serious fact that many mothers are at work in the months immediately preceding and succeeding child-birth. The present law provides that 'An Occupier of a factory or work-shop or laundry shall not *knowingly* allow a woman to be employed in his factory or workshop within four weeks after she has given birth to a child.' The law is one which is designedly slack, because of the enormous practical difficulties in the way of enforcing a rigid rule. Much may be done by individual manufacturers to discourage the dangerous practice. We have found instances in which manufacturers who have made special regulations to keep mothers from their work at these times, and to make provision for them, have

sensibly reduced the death rate of infants amongst their employées. But the mother of course requires a conscience in this matter as much as the employer. Very often the mother is equally at fault, though her necessity is a better excuse than any which the employer has to offer. This raises the whole question of how far the work of the world should be done by women, and how far women's labour should enter into competition with the labour of men, and we cannot deal with it. At present certainly multitudes of mothers must earn wages or starve. We are face to face with one of those baffling problems for which the community seems still so un-Christian as to have no solution to offer.

The Parents' Health

The last paragraph has led us to think of the conditions bearing upon the health of the child through the health of the parents. We have spoken of the employment of the mother as affecting her opportunity to care properly for her child. We are here concerned with the more general subject of the conditions of life in workshops as they affect the health both of mother and father. A study of the reforms wanted in the interests of health in the workshops of the land, would lead us far from the subject of this chapter, which is the child. We must therefore limit ourselves strictly to a few considerations. The precautions adopted in workshops to safeguard the worker from accident to life and limb are important, because it is frequently in consequence of such accidents that parents are unable

to provide properly for their children. The conditions which bear upon the general health of the worker affect the child in two ways, either through the inheritance of a weakened physique, or through the contraction of disease such as consumption, to which the parent is subject on account of the unhealthy conditions of his work. Finally, the transference of industries from crowded town quarters to the open country, whenever it is possible, is a clear gain to the child. Its most important years from the point of view of physical development can then be spent amid invigorating and healthful surroundings.

In a multitude of ways the welfare of the worker is now safeguarded in factory and workshop by the law. The temperature of the workshop is governed. Its ventilation must be properly regulated. Rules for its cleanliness are prescribed. If processes make the floors damp, the floors must be adequately drained. Sanitary conveniences must be suitable. Dangerous machinery must be guarded, whilst the cleaning of machinery in motion is regulated. Precautions against fire are necessary, though in this case the factory owner is not required to do anything except at the suggestion of the local authority, which is primarily responsible. In the all-important matter of hours there are regulations governing the length of the day, of the week, and of the time given to meals, and restricting the amount of overtime allowed. Certain holidays are necessary. All Sunday and half-day Saturday, with at least four other days form the minimum. Work may not be taken away from the factory, and in

the interests of women and young children there are special restrictions of their hours of work. In coal-mines, laundries, bakehouses, and chemical works and other works where processes are attended with special dangers, additional rules are in force.[1]

While the law is so complete in its provisions, and while many of these provisions are invariably put into effect, others are often neglected. One reason why the law is not entirely successful is that the staff of inspectors is not sufficient to cover the ground frequently enough. In the year 1904, the number of factories and workshops under inspection amounted to 253,866. In that year the staff of inspectors and assistant-inspectors was 152. This gives an average of nearly 1700 work-places for each inspector to visit. Upon this calculation it is extremely unlikely that every work-place is visited so much as once a year.[2]

Another common difficulty is the fact that factories are frequently warned of the inspector's visit. His arrival at the station is noticed, and in these days of telephones it is an easy matter to notify everybody concerned. A very short time is sufficient to bring down the temperature of an over-heated room to the statutory limit, or to reduce the percentage of moisture in the air. When the staff of inspectors is increased to meet the need, it is greatly to be hoped in the interests of women workers that a greater number of women inspectors may be appointed.

[1] *The Worker's Handbook* (3s. 6d., Duckworth & Co.).

[2] *Riches and Poverty*, p. 115.

The initiative of work-people also needs to be stimulated to make existing laws effective. A good many small accidents which occur are not reported to the inspector, and consequently dangerous machinery remains unguarded for that reason. One cause of this is the fear of dismissal on the part of the employée who lodges the complaint. But he can generally protect himself from the notice of his employer by appealing through his trade organisation or through Unions like the Christian Social Union. In some other respects the work-people need education more than stimulus. Take, for example, the matter of ventilation where the arrangements provided by the manufacturer may be excellent, but the wishes of the work-people are against their use.

We turn to a pleasanter side of this subject and examine some instances in which manufacturers are doing more than the law requires them to do for the health and comfort of their employées. At one factory there is a surgery where the workers may consult the doctor at any time. Full wages are paid to those who are obliged to be absent on account of sickness. At another, a trained nurse is engaged, and doctors' and dentists' services are provided. A third maintains a convalescent home for the free use of its work-people. Provision for bathing is made by several firms, plunge-baths and swimming-baths being provided.

Much ill-health has resulted to work-people in the past from the difficulty of obtaining cheap, wholesome, and well-cooked mid-day meals. The various coffee

bars, dining-rooms, and other kitchen arrangements where cheap meals can be purchased, or the workman's own food heated without charge are therefore of the utmost importance. Many firms provide these for the health and comfort of their employées. In other ways the economic value of comfort is coming to be recognised. Solely on this ground one firm has provided a rest-room for its employées, reduced its hours, and arranged for all its employées to have a full week's holiday annually upon full pay. The ill effect of nerve strain upon health is recognised by another firm in the provision of special appliances for reducing the noise of the machinery. In this firm a glee-master is engaged to teach the girls the singing of glees in the afternoon. They sing these at their work, and more and better work is reported in consequence.

Many of these arrangements for the health of the work-people extend beyond the working day. Employées' Clubs are not uncommon now. A certain firm has purchased an old mansion with extensive and beautiful grounds, and converted it into a club house for its employées. The house contains game-rooms, a billiard-room, a reading-room, a restaurant and baths. The grounds are laid out with flower-beds and tennis courts, and the river which flows through the estate affords opportunity for boating.[1]

[1] Firms which carry out work of this character frequently employ a "Social Secretary" or "Welfare Manager" to supervise it. These posts afford considerable opportunity for personal friendships with the employées and their families. For further information see the appendix.

Special notice should be taken of the movement to transfer manufactories from the town to the country, including in that term the garden city. The benefit to the workman cannot be doubted, though there is often a certain reluctance on his part to be transferred to new surroundings. But he soon realises the benefit of the change. He finds that he has much more time to himself. The time taken up by travelling can now be spent at home. Whereas in the city he may have lived in a tenement house of two rooms in some narrow street, paying six shillings a week for the accommodation, in the country for the same rent he may have a cottage of six rooms with a garden attached. He thus enjoys home life with the pleasure and profit of his garden, and all the vigour and health that this may bring. Employers are finding the increased health and spirits of their employées, when their wellbeing is thus cared for, a commercial asset too often neglected in the calculation of costs. In the country a closer personal touch between the various members of a firm tends to create a new *esprit de corps* which has an economic as well as a social value.

These economic arguments will no doubt stimulate the movement of manufacturers to the country. It requires, however, a very big industrial concern to found a new village. It takes a Cadbury to build a Bournville. But garden cities are now being promoted by public companies, such as the Letchworth Garden City Company, and these make it possible for the smaller

manufacturers to find sites and to build works without cutting themselves off from the conveniences which belong to a large community. This movement, properly stimulated by law and supported by the public, may work transformations in the industrial life of the country. It stimulates one's vision of the new earth coming down out of heaven. Meantime the new leaven is working in the old communities. The idea is now being applied to controlling the growth of existing cities. Town-planning is the keyword to this new and true idea. By regulating the growth of a town on its outskirts according to a plan, the worst features of modern towns can be avoided. Parks and open spaces, airy streets, and access to the country can be secured, the congestion of houses can be prevented, and in many ways the features of country life can be preserved. The country is waking up to the possibilities of town-planning.[1] It has become the subject of legislation and is now regarded as a most important part of the work of the Garden City Association.

All this directly bears upon home life, and so we are back at our starting-point. The streams of thought converge upon the home. It is in the interests of home and childhood that these reforms in the parents' conditions of work are urged. Home-life is in peril. Both private and public action is necessary to safeguard it. "Stable government is but the protection the law throws around the home, and the law itself is the out-

[1] John Burns' *Housing and Town-Planning Bill.*

growth of the effort to preserve it."[1] "Sins against the home are sins against childhood, robbing the world of its to-morrow."

[1] *Peril and Preservation of the Home*, David Riis, pp. 18, 19.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter I

Homes of the London Poor. Miss Octavia Hill. 95 pages. Macmillan & Co., 1883. Price 1s.

Garden Cities of To-morrow. Ebenezer Howard. Garden City Association. Price 1s. net.

Housing. Percy Alden and Edward E. Hayward. 164 pages. Headley Bros., 1907. Price 1s. net.

Practical Housing. J. S. Nettlefold. 200 pages. Letchworth Garden City Press, Ltd., 1908. 1s.

A Healthy Home in One or Two Rooms, 29 pages, and *Homely Hints for District Visitors*, 32 pages. Two Booklets published by the National Health Society, 53 Berners Street, London, W. Price 2d. each.

Progress. The Organ of the British Instititute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, London, W.C. 6d. quarterly.

These notes on books are intended to suggest further reading. They are not a full bibliography. Standard books whose purpose does not exactly coincide with the purpose of this book are referred to as far as possible in footnotes. The best book to read in following up Chapter I. is the book by Miss Hill in the above list. It deals with the management of poor houses. Three other books on housing or allied subjects are mentioned as alternatives. *Housing* is the best general survey of the subject. *Practical Housing* is an excellent and well-illustrated treatise on town planning. *Garden Cities of To-morrow* is the standard book on that subject. In the absence of any book dealing with the work of the health visitor, reference is made to two pamphlets, either of which gives some insight into the health visitor's work. The magazine *Progress* contains the latest information about the welfare schemes of manufacturers. There is no book dealing with this subject.

Chapter II

THE CHILD AT SCHOOL

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of childhood. It is the period when the mind is most susceptible to external influences, when the memory is most retentive of impressions, when the latent faculties are developed, and when the seeds of habit are sown, the fruit of which must be reaped in later life either for evil or for good. In a few short years the destiny of another generation is determined: the future race is fashioned by the instruments of the home and the school. Where home life is weak, the school becomes the main factor in this process of shaping the future. In the lives of many of the children of the poor the influence of the school is paramount. And therefore "whatever we wish to see introduced into the life of a nation, must be first introduced into its schools."

The Problem of Education

We shall use the term education in this chapter in the widest possible sense. It is not merely a matter of books alone. Too often it has appeared to be so in our national system of elementary schools. We have trained the scholar to a dull knowledge of a few formal books. We have been content with the mechanical

repetition of a given number of unrelated facts. But this, as we are coming to see, is not education. "Education has other agents than the book and the rod. Pictures, objects, scenes of nature, tools, well-written stories, decorated walls, the love of the beautiful, the wonders of the changing year, songs, wholesome generous play, these are all instruments of education."[1] The aim in view is far more than the knowledge of facts. It is the power to observe objects accurately, to concentrate attention, to think clearly, and think for oneself, to be interested in all things, to be eager to learn, to hold and appreciate principles and know when to allow exceptions.

In short, education is a moral process. The chief aim of the school should be the formation of character, for on it all human conduct depends. "The school should fortify the character where it is weak, create it where it is absent, direct it where it is without compass." Its ultimate function is to stir the imagination to wide sympathies and worthy ambitions. Its chief purpose is to form right habits of conduct. It should teach the child to love what is true, to revere what is beautiful, to follow what is good.

This aspect of education may be illustrated in two ways. It may be seen in the physical development of the child no less than in the training of its mind. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on the importance of the former. Whatever may be true of later years, in the earlier stages of education it is impossible to separate

[1] *The Teacher and the Child*, p. 47.

the development of the body from the growth of the mind. "Any system of education," it has been well said, "is incomplete which does not train the hands." "The temple of education cannot be built without hands. These subtle ministers are directed by the mind, but by the mind which they themselves have created." The same might be said in no less degree of almost all the organs of sense. The mental and the physical react upon each other: if the one be ill-trained, the other is defective; if the second be neglected, the first is sure to suffer.

We shall need to recall this fact when we come to consider the condition of the children of the poor. But the point which we wish to emphasize here is that physical training has a direct bearing upon character. Physical exercises, as is stated in the Government blue-book, are aimed not merely at improving the physique of the scholars. They should also tend to develop qualities of alertness, decision and concentration. The moral value of manual training is very great. It creates a taste for activity, a joy in work, a true appreciation of good workmanship. Self-reliance is within the reach of the boy who can make any one thing well. "To succeed to my own satisfaction in a manual piece of work is life to me as to all men." [1] The skilful use of tools implies the development of resourcefulness, of patience, and of perseverance. Accuracy is learnt by measuring with a rule. Observation is trained by watching a skilful piece of work. Resource grows from

[1] John Ruskin.

experience in the attempt to make things out of indifferent material. Discrimination is educated by learning to detect the difference in the smell of cedar and mahogany, or to recognize the whistle of a plane that is sharp. Rhythm and harmony may be learnt in dancing. Something more than technique is developed by the training of these powers. Gentleness in manner begins with delicacy of touch. The foundations of all true art are laid in the delicate training of the physical organs. "If, instead of making a child stick to his books," says Rousseau, "he is employed in a worshop, his hands work to the advantage of his intellect. He becomes a philosopher while he thinks he is becoming merely an artisan."

The same thing is true in the training of the child's mind. As we have already said, the aim of education is far larger than a mere knowledge of facts. Too often, it is true, the emphasis has been laid on the power to remember rather than on the power to think. But whenever this has been the case the true aim of education has been missed. "It is quite possible for scholars to have been trained to admirable accuracy in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and yet to be almost incapable of learning anything that has not formed the subject of the lesson . . . The teaching of geography is not a process by which certain facts about the earth are committed to memory. It must rather be regarded as the subject which above all others brings the youngest child into contact with the outside world. . . . The purpose of teaching is to stimulate an active interest and atten-

tion."[1] The child should be trained to observe the objects which are around him and to apply his knowledge to the small world of his experience. His knowledge is useless to him till he can express it in his own words and use it for his own purposes. If, then, his studies are to enlist his active interest they must have a close relation to the circumstances of his present life. He will learn to despise knowledge if it has no relation to his daily practice. He will certainly neglect it where it does not stimulate him to act.

But not only must the child be taught to observe. He must be interested in the right things. A many-sided interest is wanted. The basis of conduct lies in ideas which have been imparted to the mind. "Every action or idea that is pictured in the mind has a tendency to fulfil itself in real life." A child's mind may be stirred by striking pictures of things which are worthy of imitation to love what is admirable, appreciate what is beautiful, and cherish what is true. Taste in colour and music can be imparted by those who have a vivid sense of what is beautiful in art. Taste in life can be imparted by those who have a vivid sense of what is good in personal conduct, in the life of the home circle and on the broader stage of life.

Education in the sense we have defined is not a matter merely of the school. On the contrary, it is only in the home that the foundations for it can be truly and securely laid. The home is the true centre of the child's world. There its first instincts are

[1] *Suggestions to Teachers*, pp. 27, 54.

developed, its earliest interests aroused, and its first lessons of obedience learned. The school can only continue and develop what the home has begun, and all along the co-operation of the home is needed to enforce the new lessons which are learned. Now it is here that our problem arises, for the children with whom we are concerned have little or no home life. Born amidst squalor and filth, ill fed and neglected, they are not physically prepared for school life. "There are 60,000 children in London," said Sir William Anson, "who from physical inferiority are unable to obtain any benefit from either physical or intellectual training." How can the school be expected to graft a true and varied growth of interests upon the starved growth of interests sprung from a bare and squalid home? The teacher can only build upon the previous experiences of his scholars. To be interesting a thing must first find a natural place in the child's mind. New knowledge gains its credentials from interests already established, but to what can it appeal if these be few or base? Or again, how can the discipline of the school be established if the home life is undisciplined? In the poorest districts, the home, instead of supporting the efforts of the school, works steadily to counteract those efforts. The school has not merely to build the walls, but lay the foundations, or even to dig up what has been falsely laid and defend what is being built. We are to consider to what extent this is possible. How far can the school combine the functions of both school and home, in face of the destructive influences of an evil

environment? This is the question which we shall attempt to answer.

Physical Training

The children of elementary schools are perceptibly less in height and weight than the children of the secondary schools. Inspection has not yet revealed the full facts save in a few districts. In Glasgow, where 52,000 children were tested, 18,000 were found to be below normal development. In Bradford it is estimated that there are 15,000 children below normal development, and 6000 of them are underfed. Facts like these have a definite bearing upon the education of the child in the elementary schools. Physical health must be secured before mental training can be effective. The school course, which is intended for a normally healthy child, is far too severe for one who is ailing or underfed. When this matter received attention in Berlin, it was found necessary to withdraw one-eighth of the children from school in consequence of their physical condition. Special courses of training are required for those who are defective. For some children education should consist chiefly in physical development. Numbers of special schools have now been provided, chiefly in London, for those who are mentally and physically weak. It is probable that many more are required, and that when inspection has brought to light the number of children who are constitutionally weak, though not technically defective, a much larger number of special schools will be provided.

Attention should also be given to the age at which children may enter schools. At present no less than 11 per cent. of children in elementary schools are under five years of age. The minds of these children are not adapted to the ordinary forms of teaching, so that too great a strain is put upon them. There is a movement to raise the age at which children enter school to seven years. This would lengthen by two years the period which the children of the very poor would spend at home,—and on the street,—and would render imperative the provision of a distinct kindergarten system.

During their school days many children are engaged out of school hours in street-trading, or in working at home or in shops. A commission appointed to deal with the subject estimated in 1899 that 200,000 children were so employed. The gravity of this state of affairs is shown by the fact that in an inquiry carried out by the London County Council concerning the health of 384 child wage-earners, it was found that 233 showed signs of fatigue, 140 were anæmic, 131 had some nervous disorder, 64 were deformed from carrying heavy weights, and 51 were suffering from heart-trouble.

Finally, toward the close of school-days, the problem of the "half-timers" presents itself. Under normal circumstances a child leaves school at the age of fourteen, but if he has reached a certain standard, he may claim a year earlier to have qualified as a "young person" who may be employed for "half-time." This half-time system is prevalent in industrial centres. It is true that no child may be employed in this way without a doctor's

certificate of fitness; but this is not an adequate protection, for so long as it is usual for children to work half-time the doctor's certificate will be withheld only in the case of some special disability. It can hardly be questioned that this system impairs the physical strength of the workers and reduces very greatly the value of their work during their last year at school. All this is very important in view of the fact that the development of the body is limited to certain periods. "The education of the mind is and should be a life-long process,—but the development of the body is strictly limited to a certain period of existence, and becomes finally and irrevocably arrested at a given date." [1]

A system of medical inspection is now compulsory over the whole country under the direct control of the Central Education Authority. Medical Officers are appointed to visit the schools regularly and test each child, both for special defects of teeth, ears, or eyes, and for general strength and development. In Manchester two doctors give their whole time to 180 schools. The co-operation of the teachers is gained in order that signs of overstrain at work or the first symptoms of disease may be at once detected. In the training-colleges instruction in these matters is now given.

When medical inspection brings to light any defect in a child, the parents are notified of the fact and pressure is brought upon them to have the child attended to. More perhaps might be done to insist upon treat-

[1] Quoted in *The Health of the School Child*, by Dr Leslie Mackenzie, pp. 38, 39 (Methuen, 2s. 6d.).

ment and win the parents' co-operation. In Germany the parents are summoned periodically to attend while their children are examined, and the state of their children's health is then explained to them, and so a personal link is established between the parents and the teachers and inspectors. An incidental gain from the system of inspection is its influence upon cleanliness: parents are sensitive about the state of their children's clothes, if they know that these are to be examined. The standard of personal cleanliness is, therefore, raised by the system.

Medical inspection is constantly revealing the underfeeding of children. Two causes are stated for this: selfishness on the part of the parents, and poverty, either temporary or permanent. In the first case, the feeding of the children at public expense only intensifies the evil. Nevertheless, the children must be fed, and it seems best to provide first that this should be done, and afterwards to take measures to enforce responsibility upon the parents. When poverty is the cause, the condition of the children discloses the fact. The whole family in such cases needs temporary or permanent help in the provision of better working conditions or better payment. But here again the children must be fed, and it should be done in such a way that the cause of their necessity is discovered at the same time. This matter is being taken up by specially appointed Children's Care Committees. These committees never give free meals to a child without first learning the state of its home. They also visit the children's homes to follow up the

medical inspection and see that the parents do what is necessary for their children. They find that neglect is rarely due to actual cruelty. It is more often due to ignorance and carelessness. Frequently the parents are grateful for the interest taken in their children and are willing to learn from the Care Committees about their treatment. Striking examples might be quoted of friendships established in this way.

It must not be forgotten that the state in which children come to school adds greatly to the need of special care. Dr Mackenzie remarks that "it takes a woman to keep her house clean where there is one boy. Where there are 1000 boys it takes a local authority." Happily the authorities are waking up to their responsibilities. In London, for example, there are special centres for the cleansing of the clothes and persons of dirty children. Examples are given of schools where the number of verminous and dangerously dirty children have been reduced from 250 to 3, and 200 to 2. In German and American schools shower-baths are provided for the children. Surely it should be possible to introduce similar methods into the schools of this country. We can hardly overestimate their effect in fostering habits of cleanliness.

The first school for invalid children was opened by the London School Board nine years ago. There are now more than twenty such schools in London with nearly 2000 children on the roll. In each school, in addition to the regular staff of teachers, there is a cook, a qualified nurse, and one or more helpers. The

children take their mid-day meal at the school, a doctor examines them as they enter, and they are periodically examined till they leave at the age of sixteen years. The Homerton Residential School for mentally defective and deaf children has tried the experiment of moving for a month in the summer to an Essex island by the sea. Here they are lodged in a temporary building provided with bunks. In fine weather lessons are given in the open air. Formal teaching from books is varied by a large amount of drill, with plentiful bathing and country walks. The open-air life adds greatly to the children's benefit.

Germany has many open-air schools of which Charlottenburg is the oldest. It was opened in 1904 for backward and sickly children. It stands amidst the pine-woods, and is made of small sheds open on all sides. In these the children read and write. There is a large shed open to the south in which the children sleep. Special regard is given to the ailments of the children, and to the cleanliness of all. The results have been excellent, especially with anæmic cases.

These excellent examples have been followed in a few cases in Great Britain. For Manchester there is a country school accommodating 80 children. From April to October the number accommodated is increased to 120. Each child is charged 7s., and spends a fortnight at the school. The school hours, from 9 till 12 in the morning, are given up to ordinary lessons, and Nature-teaching is prominent. In the afternoon, from 2 to 4.30, the lessons are given in a wood, on the farm, or in the garden.

Another example may be taken from Woolwich. Here,

in the Bostall Woods, 120 anæmic children from Woolwich, Deptford, and Plumstead spend the three summer months. The school is surrounded by wooded glades and winding paths. The time-table is drawn up with the utmost regard to health. Lessons and meals are taken in the open air when possible. The experiment has been successful, and has resulted in an increased grant, and in the opening of three new schools on the same model.[1]

These experiments are relatively small, but they have been successful, and suggest large possibilities of schemes, perhaps a little less ideal, but for that reason more widely possible. In thinking of these instances one is stirred to hope for the day when every child's need for health and natural surroundings will be properly met. When that is the case we shall have a new race—physically, mentally, and morally.

The Growth of Interests

We come now to the question of healthy interests. "The chief difficulty in elementary education is to awaken the imagination to an interest in objects of sufficient range. The children of the poor, removed from the influences of nature, are not easily susceptible to the influences of any kind of art. · Nor are they easily interested in the movements of history, except on the spectacular side. Elementary education has so far failed to awaken any interests adequate to give value to the leisure of the

[1] Further accounts of special schools of this kind will be found in Mrs Alden's book, *Child Life and Labour*, pp. 59-65.

poor."[1] We can readily understand that this should be the case with children brought up in homes where there is no room for them to read or play, and who are therefore turned out into the street with its sensational and unwholesome excitements. It is a serious matter that a child should lack the room and appliances for play. It is a serious lack in a boy's training if he has no hobbies, no tools, and none of the small pleasurable duties, like the making of rabbit hutches and the mending of blinds, which do so much to create a taste for doing ordinary things. It is yet more serious if the time that should be spent in hobbies and play is spent in surroundings where the mind inevitably gathers images of evil, and so becomes a storehouse of evil thoughts. "There is one thing only," says Maeterlinck, "that the soul can never forgive. It is to have been compelled to behold or share, or pass close to, an ugly action, word, or thought. It cannot forgive, for forgiveness were here the denial of itself, so intimately does memory identify our experiences with ourselves."[2]

Hitherto the school has not succeeded well in face of this situation. "Exclusive attention to subjects of immediate utility has tended to starve certain things in the child's nature."[3] But there is a change coming over the face of elementary education. The blue-book now recommends that the teaching of English

[1] *Social Degradation*, p. 85.

[2] *The Teacher and the Child*, p. 28.

[3] *The Child and the Curriculum*, p. 44. (Sonnenschein, 2s. 6d.) This book treats excellently of the value of a liberal curriculum.

should not be concerned first with grammatical rules but with vivid and dramatic stories told to win the affection of the children to great books. History is no longer to be confined to wars and battles and Court chronicles. It is to be ranged round the lives of great men and women, selected from all ranks of life as examples of such qualities as children can admire. Famous buildings and historic places are to be visited in school time in order to add colour to these heroic tales, and everything is to be directed to quickening an interest in the national life in times of peace, in industry and in citizenship.

It is of the first importance to develop in children a healthy interest in the State. But the conception of the State is a difficult and abstract one. The interest must first centre in local scenes and well-known persons. The child is to be trained to act rightly in a complicated world with landlords and employers, rate-collectors and shop-keepers, and, it may be, debt-collectors and policemen figuring in it. He must know something of this larger world of persons if he is to hold a true course in it. Can he be taught to know and value his duties and responsibilities? "Mr Acland, when he was Education Minister in 1893, introduced into the Evening School Code a syllabus of instruction on the Life and Duties of the Citizen. It consisted of statements of the part played in social life by the rate-collector, the policeman, and so on, accompanied by a moral for each section, such as 'serving personal interest is not enough,' 'need of public spirit and intelligence for good Govern-

ment,' 'need of honesty in giving a vote,' 'the vote a trust as well as a right.' Almost every school publisher rushed out a textbook on the subject, and many School Boards encouraged its introduction; and yet the experiment after a careful trial was an acknowledged failure. The lessons with their alternations of instruction and edification failed to stimulate any kind of interest in the students."[1] But it does not follow that citizenship cannot be taught. It may be taught through history and literature. Patriotism can be taught through national songs and ballads such as Macaulay's "Spanish Armada." The faults and dangers of party zeal can be deduced from Shakespeare's "Coriolanus," the fickleness of a populace devoid of political principles from Mark Anthony's Speech in "Julius Cæsar." The Biglow Papers with their true and searching humour may be used to teach the power of the press for good or evil, and to create a healthy sentiment in favour of peace.[2]

The emphasis which is now laid upon music and singing in elementary schools marks a distinct advance in education. A good song is the only perfect form of art which it is possible for a young child to reproduce. A boy who fails to appreciate other forms of beauty may appreciate a beautiful song. In a London school situated in a poor district it has been found possible to teach the children to enjoy such songs as Schubert's "Cradle Song," "Who is Sylvia?" and Mendelssohn's "O for the wings of a Dove." Considering the bias

[1] *Human Nature in Politics*, Graham Wallas, p. 191.
[2] *The Primary School Curriculum*, pp. 22-28.

in favour of the songs of the street and of the Music Hall with which the children come, this is a fact of great promise. Moreover, it should be remembered that music may exert a refining influence in the school. There is a moral as well as an æsthetic value in the appreciation of good music. The singing lesson provides the teacher with opportunities for arousing the child's moral nature into wholesome activities.

The flagging spirit of play needs stimulus in the slums. Rooms and appliances need to be furnished. The school yards ought to be more often in use and more open spaces provided. The lack is still terrible, though the authorities are beginning to act. In addition to this, there is, on the part of the children, an inability to play. A country child may be safely left to regulate its own physical exercises, but the town child needs guidance and encouragement. In some cases this want of the spirit of play is due to lack of imagination. Mimicry takes its place, and the dramatic instinct remains undeveloped. Sometimes it is due to the want of the power of concentration. Games requiring any effort or steadiness of attention seem to be beyond their power. There is a special call for the help of ladies in this matter. Mrs Humphry Ward says "there is no work in which the kindness and cleverness of English ladies can be employed with more good to the community and with more happiness to themselves than in teaching children to play."

The attitude of the Board of Education is in favour of official action being taken to organize games, as an

educational factor of great importance amongst the poorer children. They, therefore, provide that games may be played during the hours set aside for afternoon attendance. Organized play, however, is not yet common, but the tide is setting in its favour. The London County Council offer their school premises to any one who will organize games in the evenings, or during the holidays.

The need not only of providing places for play, but also of teaching the children of the poor how to play, led to the starting of the Play Centre Association some three years ago in Edinburgh. These are modelled on the plan followed with such success in London. The School Board helped cordially, granting the use of their buildings for the scheme. Teachers supplied lists of the most needy children. Voluntary helpers worked under the guidance of superintendents. And from 5.30 to 7 on the week evenings the children are gathered off the streets, in three centres, and taught to play. The movement is steadily growing in force and usefulness.

In order that better and newer interests may take hold of the child's mind, it is important that the child should be entirely subject to them for considerable periods of time. "To allow children during early years to gather into their brains, without any correcting agency, all the sights and scenes of a slum is sheer social madness." The inevitable tendency is that the child should grow to love the slum as the "only conceivable and desirable spot." Occasional absences for excursions and days in the country cannot counter-

act the effects of continuous living in a slum. Nor are these holidays always kept free from the characteristics of city life.[1]

Town children need to spend longer times in the country. Almost every town in Austria and Germany sends its poor children away for four weeks in the summer. The government of Denmark gives free railroad and steamship passes for the children's holiday, and accommodates them in private houses, or in an encampment of wooden cottages that have been built on a tract of forest by the sea. In this country similar holidays are arranged by charitable societies, the parents contributing a share of the expense. Over 40,000 children are sent annually from London in this way. The Edinburgh Poor Children's Holiday Fund, and the Glasgow Fresh Air Fortnight Scheme, have done splendid work in their respective cities. All such schemes open up an immense sphere for service, to all whose love of children and of games qualifies them to undertake it.

Discipline

In the absence of proper discipline in the home,[2] school discipline presents a difficult problem. If the lessons of conduct learnt in the school apply only to the circumstances of school life, they will certainly be unlearned through the influences of the home or the later influences of working days. A discipline is wanted

[1] *The Town Child*, by R. A. Bray, pp. 246-255.
[2] *Social Degradation*, pp. 73, 74, 135.

not merely in attention, promptness and accuracy in the learning of lessons and in obedience to the recognized authority of the teacher. It must be a discipline which persuades a boy to be a good comrade amongst his fellows, and trains him to be a good worker in after life.

For some children the only possible hope lies in removal from their environment. Refuge Homes exist for such children, and they meet with remarkable success in spite of the material with which they begin and the unnatural conditions under which they work,—for it is unnatural to isolate a number of children of bad record, and bring them up apart from the influence of relatives and free intercourse with other children. No doubt many Homes succumb to the difficulties. The schools for the children of paupers are blamed for their failure to bring up children without a pauper taint. Yet some of these have been thoroughly successful, where the staff of the school has been of exceptional calibre. Better educated teachers with higher ideals going into some of these schools have transformed them within a few years. Certainly the record of the Refuge Homes is good. They succeed in producing independent, self-reliant characters. Their emigration results have been excellent, and in many cases the children of these schools have taken a high place in the world's work. We have before us an instance, probably not without parallel, of a member in the Australian Commonwealth Parliament who was rescued from one of the worst districts in London, in the early days of Dr Barnardo's work.

The Industrial School provides another escape from evil surroundings. Children under 14 are committed to these schools for various small offences. Children found wandering, begging, or receiving alms; children who frequent the company or live in the houses of reputed thieves or prostitutes; children having no parents or guardians, or none who exercise proper guardianship; children whose parents or guardians are unable to control them, or who cannot otherwise be made to attend the Day School regularly, may be sent to an Industrial School.

The length of the sentence is the length which the Court deems proper for the teaching and training of the child, but it may not extend beyond the time when the child will attain the age of 16 years.[1] It will be noticed that this makes it possible for children so committed to have the benefit of two years' school training beyond what is common. These schools are distinguished from ordinary schools by a greater severity in discipline, and by a more practical curriculum. Unruly children can be made to do, more readily than to learn. Moreover they generally have the mental characteristics which require that they should learn almost exclusively by doing.

In the ordinary schools also the importance of relating the curriculum to the actual duties of later life is coming to be recognized. "We would suggest to the Board of Education," runs the Report of the Poor Law Commisson, "the advisability of a thorough reconsidera-

[1] Convictions are made under the Children's Act. This applies to Industrial Schools (pp. 30-35), and to Reformatory Schools for older children (p. 29).

tion of the time-table and curriculum in our elementary schools, as well as of the aims and ideals of elementary education. The unanimity of opinion that our school curriculum does not supply the right class of instruction and training for industrial purposes cannot lightly be put on one side." The Education Department is already moving in the desired direction. While it allows nothing in the way of technical science to form part of the school curriculum, it is now ready to "consider any scheme of handicraft which is closely connected with the tools and materials used in special local industries," and it is stimulating manual training which has suffered in the past from being too much confined to the younger classes, with the result that it has remained unpractical, and somewhat childish, instead of being made progressive.

Some criticism is passed upon the arrangement of the school day and the way in which lessons are taught. The working life of a boy requires not merely manual training and physical endurance, but the strength of will power to go on working at a dull job for five or six hours without intermission. This means a firm mental discipline at school. At present learning is sometimes made too easy. No one subject is pursued for more than an hour—there is a cessation of all work every two hours. Until he goes to work at 14, the boy has never worked at any one thing for more than one hour, and even then his effort was made much less by the action of the teacher who needs to explain all difficulties as soon as they arise.

As a training in comradeship, the Elementary School is far from satisfactory. The size of the classes and the huge size of the schools make it impossible for children to educate each other in the way that boys educate each other in the public schools where the groups are smaller. Where children are massed in large numbers the discipline of close companionship is lost. The reduction of classes, the appointment of monitors, the promotion of games during school hours, the stimulus being given to corporate feeling by class-matches, are methods now adopted to teach the lessons of the common life.

The greatest possible importance attaches to the work of the teacher in training the character of his scholars, especially where the influence of the home is against the influence of the school. The personal influence of the teacher is necessary to enforce the school lessons. In school the teacher is at the disadvantage where he must cope with classes of fifty or sixty children. This means that the child who is not disposed to respond to the teacher's influence is largely untouched. "The so-called bad boy needs some one to start the machinery of his life into operation. There is not a boy or girl in the world who cannot be touched by the right teacher." This is impossible if the teacher is unable to attend to him, and show some personal interest and confidence in him. Where friendship is shown and trust reposed in a child, some measure of response is practically certain. The difficulty of giving individual attention to the scholars in large classes gives greater importance to the influence of the teacher upon his scholars out

of school hours. Many teachers do not know their scholars out of hours. In the districts where their personal friendship is most needed, they frequently live at a distance from their school.

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The teacher is often reminded that the period of life when the scholar is in his hands is the most important period, because it is the period when the child is most plastic to all kinds of influence. Unfortunately the period of school-days is not exactly co-terminous with the period of plasticity. "Before the age of eighteen," writes Dr Paton, "youths and maidens frame themselves consciously or unconsciously to be saints or villains. When they step out into manhood or womanhood they have already fixed their orientation. The rest is simply development." But school-days terminate at the age of thirteen or fourteen for the elementary school child. For four or five important years the youth, still plastic, still a child in many ways, full of the spirit of inquiry, full of energy for interesting occupation, is left largely to the education of circumstance. The instincts for serving others and the power of bearing responsibility only appear fully during these years, and they need training. "Education in the ordinary sense of the word is over just when in its full significance it becomes most necessary."

For a certain period of years our national system of education practically assumes the responsibility for the training of the children. Suddenly it ceases to exercise

this paternal care, and sends them out into a life without dominant interests, and without restraints. The discipline of school is over before the real discipline of life has begun. For this reason the Poor Law Commission proposes to add two years to the period of school days, making sixteen the leaving age. If the physical drill, the mental occupations, and the supervision of school life could be prolonged into the period of adolescence, undoubtedly many characters would be saved.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter II

The Town Child. Reginald A. Bray. 333 pages. T. Fisher Unwin, 1907. 7s. 6d.

Child Life and Labour. Margaret Alden, M.D. Social Service Series, 6. 161 pages. Headley Bros., 1908. 1s. net.

The Teacher and the Child. Thiselton Mark. 165 pages. T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. 1s. net.

The Children. Prof. Darroch. 133 pages. T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1907. 1s. net.

Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers. The Board of Education Blue Book. 155 pages. Wyman & Sons, Ltd., 1905. 8d.

Far and away the best book on the subject of this chapter is *The Town Child.* It is a penetrating and suggestive study of the problem of educating the town child, by a man who knows both town children and elementary education. Mrs Alden's book contains more information than any other about the facts of child life, and the actual measures taken to improve their physique; it contains a full bibliography. *The Teacher and the Child* is a study of the principles of moral and religious teaching. Professor Darroch's book covers the ground of the two books last named with less information and a more comprehensive survey of the administrative problem of education. The blue-book, though its interest will be chiefly for teachers, shows the direction in which elementary education is trending.

Chapter III

THE PERIL OF YOUTH

We take our stand, at the opening of this chapter, by the side of the boy upon whom the school-gate has clanged for the last time. He is entering upon a new world; he is given a new freedom; his life is placed in his hands, and he may do with it what he will. And he is only fourteen years old, with little experience of the world, less capacity for choosing, and least sense of responsibility. Where should he look for guidance? If he is to become a successful workman, it is essential that he should learn a trade. His parents probably care only that he should take up work which will immediately bring in a substantial wage. If he is to become an intelligent man, it is important that he should develop what knowledge he has gained at school. The influence of worthless companions tempts him to waste his leisure at the corner of the street. If he is to be saved from the temptations which beset our city life, he needs the strong influence and shelter of some friend. But he stands alone, ignorant of his danger, heedless of his fate.

It is the critical period of his life. At this time he is subject to certain forms of emotional and irrational wilfulness. The unstable condition of the nervous

system makes him especially liable to evil suggestion. New passions waken, new impulses arise, which, if uncontrolled, will ruin his life. To every boy there come times of intense struggle between the lower and the higher instincts, and everything depends upon which gains the upper hand. This is the peculiar peril of adolescence.

> "No, when the fight begins within himself
> A man's worth something. God stoops o'er his head,
> Satan looks up between his feet—both tug—
> He's left, himself, i' the middle: the soul wakes
> And grows. Prolong that battle through his life!"[1]

A new spirit of independence comes with his new liberty. Hitherto he has accepted life unquestioning, but now there stirs within him an ambition to choose his own path. Set free from the restraint of school, he becomes impatient even of advice. At this stage the dominant interests which control his thought are all-important. If they are healthy, they serve to counteract the tendency to morbid tastes which are common to boys. The mind has inner workings which are not confessed and perhaps hardly realized by the boy himself. Everything that takes him out of himself, that widens his outlook, that influences him for good, acts as ballast to steady his course through the waves of temptation.

Without these higher interests he will fall an easy prey to the attractions and excitement of the street, with their disastrous effects upon character. "I know nothing,"

[1] "Bishop Blougram's Apology." Browning

writes one who has a personal experience of about 900 street-trading boys in Birmingham, "which unsettles a boy so much, and tends to make him so loath to settle down to any regular employment when he arrives at an age at which it is imperative that he should do so. The excitement of the streets appeals to him, it being more or less of a continual gamble, and the feeling of independence unfits him for the discipline of a factory or workshop. He is entirely his own master, selecting his own 'pitch' at which to sell, and taking out as many papers or matches as he feels inclined to. One finds, time after time, that decent, tidy boys, after two or three months of street trading, become slovenly and careless of their appearance and gradually lose all self-respect, for a picturesque raggedness is often of service to them. The boy continues to trade in the streets until he is 17 or 18 years old, and then realizes that he is still only earning 8s. or 9s. a week, with no prospect of anything higher. He then starts to look for regular work and finds himself unable to obtain it. In the end he develops into a street loafer and more often than not into a criminal. I have had some small experience here among the loafers one finds hanging round the railway stations and sleeping in the lowest common lodging-houses, and I have found that 75 per cent. of them started by selling papers when quite young boys."

A lad of such upbringing is inevitably weak in self-control. He inclines distinctly towards self-indulgence. The slackness of his moral fibre shows itself in slovenliness of personal habits and bearing, in rudeness

of speech and immodesty of manner. He has no serious view of life. He is not readily obedient or willingly industrious. In the more intimate relations of life he lacks that spirit of forbearance that is necessary to keep the lamp of friendliness burning brightly. Nothing has gone to make him chivalrous;—hence he is inconsiderate of girls and women. He has little imagination, and easily despises those whom he considers to be beneath him. For the same reason he is suspicious of those whose station in life is above his own. He has little or no love of fair play, and his sense of honour even toward his own mates is slight. The rudiments of it are found in his attachment to his gang, but the gang will easily break up. There is therefore not much in his composition upon which to base that wider spirit of brotherhood toward the world at large, that sense of proud citizenship of his city and country which life seems now to require.

The Training for Work

Alike in the rash choice of his occupation, in the readiness to change it upon sudden impulse, and in the unwillingness to prepare to be a better workman, the unskilled lad is undisciplined. This results in a weakening of moral fibre, and an incompetence which in later life places the man in circumstances where character is seriously endangered. "In the English-speaking world the bonds of discipline in the family, in the school, and in society generally, have become dangerously lax. A serious effort should be made by all

responsible persons to establish or restore methods of firm, kindly and sympathetic training and guidance suitable to those who need it." [1]

Boys will choose their occupation from most whimsical reasons. A boy decides to go into the navy. He has seen pictures of naval uniforms, and shyly attributes his choice to their attractiveness and to an idea of the work which he sums up in the confession, "I likes climbing." True, the boy of this class has little to guide him in his choice. He sees the advantages of the freer life of, say, the errand boy, and does not look to the future. The only guidance his parents give is an instruction to choose something which will immediately yield a fair wage. He is thus tempted to avoid the factory, which would give him a small but steady wage, and to prefer the selling of newspapers, which might yield him a couple of shillings more. It is unfortunate that most of the occupations that promise best for the future yield very little at the moment. The tendency to take up unskilled, but immediately profitable work is at present resulting in a dearth of skilled, and an over-supply of unskilled boy labour. Employers testify that they get 10 or 100 applicants for unskilled as compared with one or two for skilled work, even in spite of the fact that the skilled trades are gradually giving place to trades requiring purely manual and mechanical labour.

[1] Quoted from a letter written by Thomas Kirkup, the historian of Socialism.

The unskilled workers drift from trade to trade. Many a lad will change his occupation half-a-dozen times between the ages of fourteen and twenty, without any good reason. The following record is by no means a rare instance. One boy between the ages of fourteen and nineteen was a brick-labourer's boy, a rag-sorter's boy, a printer's cropper, a tailor's porter, a tanner's labourer, a leather dealer's assistant, and a porter at a warehouse. There is need here for the exercise of discipline.

A good deal, of course, may be done by the parents if pressure can be brought to bear upon them to take up their responsibility. So much is this the case that one Apprenticeship Association makes it its first aim to stimulate parents to guide their children in their choice of work. Once their interest has been aroused, they can frequently do more to place their lad wisely under some foreman whom they know, than any outsider can.

Something may also be done by the teacher and the school manager, if they are interested and have enough knowledge of industries to be able to advise lads wisely. The head teachers of elementary schools may do much to turn the minds of the boys under their charge in the right direction. It has long been a custom for teachers to interest themselves in finding suitable work for their scholars. The London County Council has now made a regulation that teachers should report upon the occupation chosen by each one of their scholars. The school manager may have in some

ways a better opportunity than the teacher. The teacher is apt to be regarded as a man of books and not a man of affairs. The school manager is not thus handicapped. He does not suffer the slight but inevitable disqualification of being a school official. Yet his position gives him access to the scholars individually. If he has obtained a personal hold upon a lad during his last years at school he may easily exercise influence in the right direction. If possible, it is well to get the lad committed to some definite form of work. Official regulations of the London County Council draw the attention of the managers to this responsibility, advising them to get into touch with Apprenticeship and Employment Associations, and bring parent and child into connection with these agencies. In Liverpool, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London, at any rate, Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Committees are formed to assist managers in this difficult work. It is only fair to add that at present the number of school managers is so small in comparison with the number of boys in the schools that the task of knowing the boys individually is almost impossible, and some supplementary arrangement is imperative.

The poorest class of lads and especially those who have not made much of their school days present a special problem. Their parents depend upon their immediate earnings, and they are not themselves qualified for the work required in a skilled trade. This class is numerically larger than the class which is eligible for skilled work, and very much more difficult to

deal with. These lads may, however, be helped into occupations which, while not skilled, have some promise of steady advancement. This work is undertaken by the Children's Care Committees. Many of them otherwise drift into street trading with all its pernicious results. Something can be done to avert this latter danger by restricting the practice of street trading. Local authorities have permissive powers to deal with this problem by limiting street trade in various ways. Birmingham has adopted a system with many good results. No child is allowed to trade in the streets at all under the age of eleven, and from that age to sixteen he must obtain a licence and wear a badge to show that he has done so. Those who wear the badge are pledged to certain regulations which undoubtedly minimise the evil. For instance, they are forbidden to beg, to trade on Sundays, to sell in public houses, to annoy people by getting into their way or shouting, to sell anything in the streets after nine o'clock at night or before six o'clock in the morning; and they must report themselves if they change their home address. The regulations deter some children from trading, and introduce the necessary element of restraint into the life of those who continue to trade. Moreover, the system of registration makes it possible for them to be followed up. Far more requires to be done before lads of this type are properly provided for. They have few friends because they are so difficult to locate. Clubs hardly affect them: they are too wild for the restraint of the simplest club rules, and too little disposed

to its healthy enjoyments. They must be sought out in their own haunts in the streets and befriended there. Perhaps the only real hope for them lies in the raising of the school age and the improvement of school-training. In the words of the Poor Law Commission Report, "There seems to be outside the circle of the teaching profession a very strong general feeling that the education of our children in elementary schools is not of the kind which is helpful to them in after life. Education is the accepted antidote to unemployment and pauperism."[1]

Having chosen his trade, how is he to get into it? One way is apprenticeship. In the case of apprenticeship, some small premium is paid by the parents, though not invariably. The lad and his master are then bound for a certain time, during which his wages will be very small. A contract is bound to have a salutary effect upon the lad if it is properly carried out by the master, though this, unfortunately, is not always the case. There are many difficulties in the way of apprenticeship. First of all there is the reluctance of the parents to bind themselves or their boy, a reluctance backed by amiable ignorance. Next there is the fact that the old system of indentured apprenticeship has for many years been falling into decay. In the majority of industries it has almost entirely disappeared. In only a few trades can it be said to be a commonly recognized way of entering the profession. This is partly due to the specialized nature of modern industry, which makes it profitable for

[1] The Poor Law Commission Report, p. 630.

an employer to keep a lad at some single process rather than to teach him all the branches of the trade.

Many large employers will no longer trouble to take apprentices. They find them somewhat difficult to control, and there is little inducement to receive them in such places as London, where skilled workmen may be obtained from the provinces at any time. The displacement of skilled trades by the introduction of machinery, which enables an unskilled or less skilled workman to do what a skilled workmen did formerly, also discourages apprenticeship, though it should not do so. A lad who has acquired skill in one trade can apply himself comparatively easily to another, if he has sufficient theoretical knowledge.

The work of the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association in London may be taken as an example of what may be done to encourage apprenticeship. This Association has provincial branches also. It works in close co-operation with elementry schools. "Its object is the promotion of thorough industrial training for boys and girls through trade schools and technical classes." It has issued a book called "Trades for London Boys," and a similar one for girls. It is also in touch with apprenticeship charities, which it is able to put to their best use. It brings promising children to the notice of employers, and encourages those who would not otherwise do so to take boys and to teach them a trade. This quickened interest on the part of employers is as important as the quickened interest on the part of the parents. The Association keeps in touch with all the

boys for whom it has found situations during the first years of their working life to see that satisfactory progress is made. Over a thousand boys and girls have been apprenticed by this Association in a single year.

Voluntary workers are needed. "There is a pressing need for those who can personally, with tact and patience, help parents and children to arrive at a wise conclusion in the choice of a career, and in carrying out that choice. More than money we need personal help. As the numbers of boys and girls we place increases, so does the number of homes to be visited. There is scope for everyone in the work we are trying to do, touching, as it does, growth of character, habits of industry and thrift, and the qualities that make home life a reality. Two classes of helpers are required: (1) Those who, through being in touch with boys and girls and their parents in various ways, as Club Workers, Sunday School Teachers, or District Visitors, can urge attendance at evening classes, and care in the choice of a trade. (2) Those who can give time to master the technical knowledge necessary for supplying information as to suitable trades and likely firms in the neighbourhood, and the right classes suitable for the trades. The work cannot develop unless a sufficient supply of these latter workers is maintained."

Another way by which a boy may become a skilled worker is by attending a trade school for his two last years at school, or continuation classes in the evening while he goes to work. In view of what has already been stated as to the attitude of employers to apprentice-

ship, and in view of the fact that trade unions are firmly opposed to the apprenticeship system, these gateways into the skilled labour market are of great importance. Continuation classes are as yet not very well designed for their purpose. They fail to attract school-boys at the critical moment when they leave school, and it must also be said that they put a serious strain upon a boy's strength when he is at work throughout the day. Nevertheless they have considerable value for those who can be induced to attend them.

A lad requires some self-control if he will attend these classes in his leisure time. More often than not it is necessary for some compulsion to be put upon him to do so. Some clubs attempt this, and employers are doing it in some instances either by making attendance at evening classes compulsory, or by allowing apprentices to attend classes in certain subjects during work hours. It has been proposed that attendance at evening classes should be made compulsory by law for some years after a boy leaves school.[1] The general feeling seems to be that the time is not ripe for this measure. Employers as a whole are against the energies of their employees being divided. If this were to result in their preferring adult labour it would indeed be a gain.

The difficulty of finding openings for apprentices has forced the London County Council to develop trade schools as a substitute for the old form of indentured training. While there is strong evidence in favour of the older form of training, and while it is a serious step

[1] The Poor Law Commission Report, p. 630.

to relieve employers from the responsibility of training the coming generation of workers, the pressure of the problem has necessitated action. A complete scheme of instruction has been organized through Polytechnics, Technical Institutes, Schools of Arts and Crafts, Trade Schools, and Evening Schools to help the more promising young workers, and scholarships are being established. The Trade School takes a boy a little before his school-days would normally end, and keeps him a little later. It requires the parents to promise that he shall complete his course, and in its turn helps him to find work when the course ends. It gives him what he would get by a combination of apprenticeship with continuation classes, viz., practical knowledge of some one or two skilled occupations together with some theoretical technical knowledge. A third of the time is given to general education, and the technical education is given by expert instructors. These scholars are greatly sought for by employers.

Such schools have the additional advantage that they protract the school period a little, and link a lad's general education to his future work. The Trade Schools of Germany, with their industrial museums, their compulsory attendance, and their Government subsidies, with their training in business management, and their lessons in citizenship, afford instructive models for the advance which we may anticipate in this branch of education.[1]

[1] Further information can be found in *Progress*, April 1906, pp. 144 ff.; October 1906, pp. 314 ff.; July 1908, pp. 180 ff.; January 1909, pp. 44 ff.

The Education of Leisure

A boy's working hours alone, however, do not make him good or bad. The way in which he spends his spare time has a more varied if not a more vital effect upon his character. Hence the importance of the many agencies now directed to a wise and healthy use of leisure. All kinds of classes, institutes and clubs are springing up in connection with day-schools, Sunday-schools, churches, and even in connection with factories. Employers have awakened to the economic value of social life. The Churches have awakened to its religious value. In consequence there is a large growth of associations of the kind best typified by the club with its varied activities, recreative, educative, and religious. Here the training of character goes on through the games, classes, and debates of the club, and through its common life. Such clubs exist both for girls and boys, for it is clearly recognized that to care for one without the other is to court failure with both.[1]

"Second only to drink the real cause of crime is the difficulty of finding healthy recreation and innocent amusement for the young among the working classes."[2] Hence it is of the first importance that a club should have such a variety of games as will attract boys of all sorts to its rooms. It must be able not only to attract

[1] We are not blind to the importance of the girls' side of the work, but, in order more effectively to treat the whole subject, we confine our attention to lads' clubs. What is true of them is largely true, *mutatis mutandis*, of girls' clubs also.

[2] The Lord Chief Justice.

but to retain them. For this we require the great games which do not lose their charm when their novelty is gone. All good games rightly played form an excellent school of character. Even indoor games, such as chess and billiards, have a moral value. To acquire skill in anything is to gain some measure of self-respect. Keenness here as elsewhere will react upon keenness in more serious pursuits. Gymnastics also do more than develop muscle. They develop intelligence, mental alertness, and habits of discipline, where the exercises are done under supervision. Great games, such as cricket and football, are splendid schools of pluck and sportsmanship. They form one of the most valuable agencies for training and refining boys. Where fairness in play and keenness for success are required, the qualities of fair play and thoroughness are steadily developed. It is surprising to find how soon boys who have been beset from birth by jealousies and brickerings, can be taught to play games like gentlemen and sportsmen. They teach, as few things teach, the value of a reasonable obedience to authority.[1]

It is of course in the playing of matches that most of these qualities are called forth. In match play there is not only the training in subordination and co-operation; but also, for those who lead, training in the exercise of responsibility and authority. Whether the club games yield the advantages just described or not depends upon the amount of attention that is given to them by their officers. If there is drill the discipline should be strictly

[1] *The Boys' Club*, Neuman, pp. 83-93.

enforced. In gymnastics and in games of skill the maximum of instruction should be given. In matches of all kinds a secretary or helper should go habitually with the lads, and make the match the education in modesty, good temper, and gentlemanliness which it ought to be. Yet occasionally they should be left to carry the responsibility of their club reputation without any support beyond their club pride. In everything the responsibility of leadership should be thrown where possible upon the lads themselves, as secretaries, instructors, and captains.

Games, however, are by no means the sole function of the club. A great wrong may be done to a boy by letting him suppose that you think the recreative side of life to be the most important. Moreover, when games are made too prominent their purpose is defeated. They will soon lose their charm, and the man will drift away from the old influences when he marries or grows too old for football. His interest in games may then lead solely to betting. Many clubs realize this. "One of the finest achievements of clubs is that through their instrumentality thousands of boys have learnt to devote a few hours a week to study, whilst the influence of good libraries with the judicious guidance in the choice of books has been simply incalculable." Further, "no club of any size or importance has found games, and games only, sufficient to hold the attention of its members and fill up their leisure hours every evening in the week."

The first step in the right direction is the establishment of hobby classes, which have provided many a lad

with an interest which has lasted for years and helped to brighten his home. The man who acquires the love of wood-carving, or who builds himself a summer-house, or makes an aviary for his boys, will rarely be the man who lounges in the bar-room.

But the club must go further and continue the work laid down by the elementary school. "Dullness," said Mr Stead, "is the devil"; and the club must give its boys the wider outlook and more varied interests which they require. Moreover, when a boy begins to take an interest in an intellectual pursuit, the club holds him by a new bond. It is not easy to provide what is necessary. Good teaching is indispensable. One club at least has resorted to paid teachers. The subjects must have a wide range with a tendency to technical subjects. Many lads will prove shy scholars and slow learners, and private tuition will be an advantage to them. Where the club is not able to provide sufficient classes, it should then encourage attendance at Evening Continuation Schools, making certain attendances compulsory in return for the benefits of the club, guiding the lads in their choice of classes, and arranging that the life of the club stimulates their interest in these classes, and in reading generally. This can be done by arranging debates, by organizing visits to galleries and museums, and by country rambles. It may be helped also by bringing boys into touch with local libraries, and seeing that they get there, from the librarian or otherwise, the guidance and stimulus which they need.[1]

[1] The National Home Reading Union promotes these objects.

"If the club is to be a school and college as well as a playground then it must be governed as such; or, better still, as a well-ordered home." Some measure of authority is essential. These lads have need to learn the value of cheerful submission to authority. The practice of responsibility has also its lessons. Most clubs have a measure of autonomy, and the grading of responsibility through captaincies, secretaryships, and committees provides an element in the education of character, such as we have learned to value in our public schools.

Most important of all in the club life is the personal contact between different members of the club. The spirit of the club expresses itself in the general tone of the behaviour and conversation there, so that boys are inevitably influenced by it. "From the night when a boy first joins, a rough process all unconsciously begins. The effect of public opinion is marked. The boy from Bell Court is more careful to adjust his scarf, his washing scruples go one inch further down the neck, and one inch further up the arm. Gambling is a natural occupation in a corner of the court between the old shed and the wall, but in the club it seems unnecessary and out of place. The authority and example of the boy officers is at first something of a revelation to the ordinary member. He soon becomes aware that the boys of the same age and kind, in homes as rough and work as laborious as his own, have a strength and self-control which he has not."[1] Thus the club must be more than a class. It must

[1] Oxford Medical Mission Report, 1908.

have its corporate nature emphasized for this result to accrue. "Boys who go to the club at first merely to get from it what they can, grow to take a pride in it, to be loyal to its officers, and to appreciate its spirit of comradeship. Selfish individualism becomes merged in a larger life, and a gradual transformation is effected in the character of the boy." [1]

The best opportunity for personal contact between the members of the club is in times of retirement from the bustle of city life for week-end holidays or weeks of camp. One club arranges Saturday afternoon rambles, when fishing and photography enter into the programme of the afternoon. Another has a cottage in the country which is used for week-end holidays. The best opportunity of all is the annual camp, which is a feature of most clubs. Besides the physical benefit of the holiday there is the moral tonic of the freedom from the usual temptations of city life. The common life of camp does more to promote intimacy and confidence between managers and boys than months of association in the club. The spirit once fostered in camp permeates the life of the club thereafter. It must not be supposed that the intercourse between boys and managers is more important than that between the boys themselves. One of the greatest gains of camp life is the chance it affords for the boys to give their friendship to one another.

One of the first objects of clubs has been the correction of rowdyism and hooliganism. A Report of the police constables of 200 towns attests the marked effect

[1] *Working Lads' Clubs*, p. 24.

of boys' clubs upon the good order of the city and the corresponding decrease of juvenile crime. Young hooligans are taught to desire the advantages of civilization. Beyond this, clubs are helping to bridge the gulf between the classes, giving thousands of public-school boys, and hundreds of thousands of working-class boys a mutual respect for each other. In these and other ways the club is preparing boys for the responsibilities of citizenship. It is not necessary to teach the full range of social responsibilities if a few typical duties are impressed. Everywhere the boys' club teaches the joy of service. Some do this by enlisting the help of their members in the giving of treats for poorer children. Others do it by leading their members gradually to take up some definite share in the rough work of the club, cleaning, decorating, or repairing. Camp affords the best opportunity for setting everybody to work, and the spirit of service so learned will find expression later in other ways.

Several Boys' Brigades have been founded to promote the spirit of citizenship in various ways. The object of the "Boys' Brigade" is stated to be the promotion of habits of obedience, reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends to a true Christian manliness. An Imperial Lads' Brigade has as its object to make good citizens and loyal subjects, and to encourage lads to live better and purer lives. The Boys' Life Brigade has adopted a drill not associated with the use of arms, but with instruction and exercises in the saving of life from fire, from drowning, and from

accident. The one-sidedness of the Brigade needs, however, to be corrected by the wider life of the club.

It should never be forgotten, however, that the best idea of civic order is to be found neither in the regiment nor even in the club, but in the ideal of the home. "Healthy Family life should be the aim of all who have a lad's real interest at heart."[1] The club is sometimes blamed for withdrawing boys from their homes. A wise manager will inquire the reason if a boy attends the club every night in the week. In some cases it is no doubt best that he should. His home may be itself the justification. It is not always a boy's chief duty to his home to be in it every evening;—that may only make it more congested than ever. If he has learned to care for his mother and sisters, he may do better things by enabling them at times to escape from their narrow surroundings. If he lives himself in a larger world, both he and his family will gain.

The club may provide a Children's Party now and then to which the lad may bring his little brothers and sisters. It may arrange a Parents' Night, when the parents are invited to tea at the club and to an evening's entertainment. Occasional Social Meetings may be thrown open to both boys and girls, when the boys should be encouraged to bring their sisters. The hobbies taken up at the club may be directed toward the home. In the carpentry class he may be encouraged to make things which will be of use

[1] "I am no enemy of the club, but as a *substitute* for the home I shall fight it till I die."—JACOB RIIS.

there. His desire to do so will best be stimulated if it is invariably assumed that he is interested in his home.

There is also the home that is to be. Although to young boys girls are of little interest, yet their opinions and ideals of womanhood are being formed. The club must not forget the difficult work of guiding boys in their attitude to girls, especially in view of the grave facts which are coming to light regarding boy and girl life in large cities. "Anything like chivalrous behaviour on the part of boys to girls is exceptionally rare, although boys show that they have right instincts by their jealousy for their own sisters."[1] Want of chivalry and respect lies behind very unsatisfactory relations between boys and girls in betrothal and marriage. The general tone of the club counts for much in the right direction, gradually moulding the ideas of its members and affecting their speech. Officers who do not shrink from the difficult work of guiding boys individually, in spite of their reticence on this subject, are doing important work. They must watch their opportunities and be prepared to criticize the boys' behaviour, and to stimulate and guide their conduct.

"The club should provide opportunities for lads and girls to meet under conditions which, while securing decorous behaviour, would be more natural and rational than those usually open to them."[1] The ordinary relationships between boys and girls of this class are distinctly unsatisfactory, and marriage is frequently the

[1] *Working Lads' Clubs*, chap. xviii.

result of an irresponsible whim or fancy. The customs and conventions of the working-class home do not allow healthy intercourse between boys and girls. Consequently they prefer to meet in unfortunate surroundings. Many clubs therefore arrange events which bring boys and girls together in a wise way. Here and there boys' clubs co-operate with girls' clubs for this purpose. "A lad will think twice about the character of a girl before introducing her to his club. If she has been a companion of whom he is ashamed, this is the time when he will discover it. A good deal of blame may be attached to the girls for the present deplorable state of affairs, but if lads will form a high ideal of womanhood, and seek in girls modesty, gentleness, sympathy, and comradeship, girls will quickly learn to adjust themselves to their wishes."[1]

"Though books and games are a never-failing help, yet it is in the heart of the boy that the great problem, the great struggle, and the ultimate solution must inevitably lie."[2] No club work is complete if it stops short of being directly and openly religious; this is one of the cases where silence is false. There is a strong sense of something left out in the work for character and citizenship if these are not founded on the recognition of God.[3] Therefore few clubs fail to avow a religious aim. If they do not hold services of their own,

[1] *Working Lads' Clubs*, chap. xviii.

[2] Oxford Medical Mission Report, 1908.

[3] There is an excellent pamphlet by J. L. Paton, M.A., which bears upon this subject. It is entitled *Moral Training in Schools*. (Arnold Fairbairns, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., 1d.).

they urge attendance at church or chapel. It is well if they can avoid making a rule lest boys should come to regard religion as a penalty paid for enjoyment. A lad should learn indirectly that the men he admires in his club regard their religion as the mainspring of their lives. "The more simple and less obtrusive the religious teaching in a club the better: reverence is best cultivated by reserve. There should not be much talk about religion. The highest motive should indeed ever be present, but it should be silent."[1] Reverence should be kept always in view. "Stand one evening at 'quiet time' in the little circle of our tents, when the moon is bright in the sky. In each tent a ring of boys are kneeling. Some have never prayed before, and some perhaps may never pray again. You have never felt the world so still."[2]

To many boys, religion appears as a negative thing—a rule against certain conduct. Club life can correct this impression. The duties and services which are exacted alike in its discipline and in its games, suggest that religion is a positive thing connected with the doing of practical services, the helping of the weak, and the conquering of evil impulses.

The religious services of the club should tend to link boys with the Church and not separate them from it. A boy's connection with his club ceases when he becomes a man. The Church has to offer him services and associations which will appeal to him and his family

[1] *Working Lads' Clubs.*
[2] Oxford Medical Mission Report, 1908.

throughout life. For this reason some clubs draft off their members into Men's Services in connection with some church when they reach the age of eighteen, and in all where this is recognized, the closest possible co-operation between church and club is maintained.

The Boys' Club makes a wide appeal for service. Athletes are wanted to lead its games, men with hobbies to teach its classes, doctors to look after the boys' health, men of affairs to guide them in their working life. "There is no form of social service so well suited to a young man's activity." He need not be a saint or a hero provided he is not a sham. Woe to him who tries to do anything in a boys' club without a merry spirit and a zest for what he does for its own sake. No boy can brook the man who acts from a mere sense of duty. A man need not be a genius but he must be a man. Firmness, common-sense, and optimism are the qualities which are called for. It is a service to which a man may bring his one talent, provided he is sincere. His pound will yield its increase if it is sterling coin.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter III

Working Lads' Clubs. Russell & Rigby. 435 Pages. Macmillan & Co., 1908. Price 3s. 6d. net.

The Boys' Club. A Manual of Suggestions for Workers. P. Paul Neuman. 184 pages. David Nutt, 1900. Price 2s. 6d.

The Problem of Boy Work. Spencer J. Gibb. 96 Pages. Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., Ltd., 1906. Price 1s. 6d.

Girls' Clubs. National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. 32 Pages. Price 2d.

Girls' Club Journal. The Organ of the Federation of Working Girls' Clubs. Issued in January, May, and October, 1s. per annum, post free.

Undoubtedly the book to read on clubs is that by Russell & Rigby. It is vivacious and close to life, and it deals with all the vital questions connected with clubs. The second book on Boys' Clubs has not the same scope or liveliness, but it is better than the first in its analysis of the function of the club and its different features, and it contains more detailed suggestions with regard to club management. The pamphlet on *Girls' Clubs* is an excellent summary of the subject, with directions to a variety of other books and societies of which a club worker would wish to know. There is no book on Girls' Clubs to compare with the books on Boys' Clubs mentioned above. *The Problem of Boy Work* is the best treatment of the subject of the earlier part of this chapter, the problem of educating a boy for and through his work.

Chapter IV

THE MAN IN DISTRESS

We have considered three very different stages in the life and fortunes of the poor, infancy, childhood, and adolescence. At each stage we have seen some influences working to destroy character, and we have seen other influences at work to safeguard and build it up. We come now to manhood. We shall have to consider both the man who is in temporary distress, and the man who has made shipwreck of his life. In this chapter we shall confine our attention to the former. We are confronted with a man who cannot weather the storms of life. The ultimate reason may be that physique was impaired from earliest years by the conditions of the home; or the half-awakened intelligence of the school-child may have left the man a prey to the attractions of some alluring, but unsound, way of living; or there may have been no wise counsellor to guide the youth in the formation of his habits. He is a man without resource. When sickness comes upon him he has not made the necessary preparations to withstand it. When through a season of bad trade he loses his employment, he has no reserve to tide him over the straitened season and lacks the

power of initiative necessary for finding other work. At such a time he needs help, and upon the character of that help depends very largely whether his course thereafter is to be upward or downward.

The True Helper

In taking up the problem of helping the needy, we study first the spirit in which the helper should approach his work, for after all this is what chiefly matters. Much that we hear in condemnation of indiscriminate giving derives its cogency not from the fact that the giving has been too generous, but that it has been too impersonal. There is something contemptuous in the mere giving of material things without true sympathy, and it is inevitable that such gifts should demoralise those who receive them. A person in need may receive, from one who has been his friend, help that would be both an insult and an injury without this personal link. The man who flings a coin to a beggar in the street, who scatters his alms among the poor but gives nothing save the money from his purse, is sowing seeds of despair, dishonesty, and class-hatred in the hearts of those who take his gift. It is therefore of the first importance to establish a right relationship between those who give and those who receive.

The first element in this relationship is a sincere respect for the man who is down. The poor must not feel that the fact of being in distress places them at once in a different category. There is far too often a tacit assumption of moral superiority on the side of the

fuller purse. This assumption may, or may not, be justified. Analysis will frequently show that it is not. But in any case help given with a taint of patronage is poisoned at its source. It may be difficult entirely to obliterate the difference in dress or speech or station between us and the man who stands before us, but the true giver is one who is able to regard these things as secondary and to deal with a man as a brother to whom it is natural to give of his best, simply, without ostentation, and without self-consciousness. The honest but unfortunate man is, in the true sense of the word, respectable.

The helper who shows the spirit of a brother will remember also his own faults. The power of charity to cover a multitude of sins is unfortunately true in a sense hardly intended by St Paul. The very faults of thriftlessness or mismanagement which are rebuked in the needy housewife, are exemplified daily in the luxurious and careless living of the richer benefactor, who is saved from disaster only by his larger income. The characteristic faults of those in distress—idleness, thriftlessness, self-indulgence—are faults which also characterize the wealthier class, though with less outwardly disastrous results. The disaster to character may be as great.

Respect is the gateway to friendship, and help, if it is to be permanently valuable, must be given in a spirit of friendliness. While it is true that the man in distress may not be more of a sinner than the man helping him, it is also generally true that he has some moral need at least which the helper can supply. It is only when

there is real personal contact of man with man that moral strength can pass from the one to the other. This personal contact demands that the helper should think of his friend as an individual and not as one "case" out of many. It means that he will be interested in all that concerns him. It implies intimacy and mutual confidence, such as characterize true friendship, irrespective of rank. It also implies strict privacy in dealing.[1] This is of the utmost importance in helping men who are out of employment, whose self-respect and sense of family honour are still strong. Several first-rate workmen in Glasgow, during the winter of 1908-9 suffered severe privations rather than appeal for help from the Lord Provost's Fund, simply because the necessary investigations made their condition known to their neighbours, and that they resented. Help quietly given by the Church was most gratefully received; it came as a token of sympathy and brotherhood, without the stigma of publicity.

There is a movement which is rapidly spreading to a large number of English towns and cities to which we may now refer, which serves to illustrate the principles we have just stated. This is a British adaptation of the system practised in certain German towns, and which is well known in this country from the description of its working in Elberfeld given by Julie Sutter, in *Britain's Next Campaign.* At Elberfeld, the municipal system of giving relief from the rates is carried out by an army of voluntary workers. In this

[1] This of course has its danger. See pp. 100-102.

country the Guilds of Help do not have control of the public funds. They reproduce the German system only in the attempt to stimulate the sense of citizenship by making the more successful and competent citizens the friends of the unsuccessful and incompetent. One of their principles is that no helper can help more than a very limited number of individuals in the true spirit of personal friendship. Each town is therefore divided into several districts over each of which is set a Captain. These districts are again divided and sub-divided, until finally we come to the individual helper with one or two families to care for. A small group of helpers forms a committee to which each member reports weekly or fortnightly. The Leader of the Committee reports to his Captain, and so on until the report reaches head-quarters. Thus the work of the individual helper is ultimately unified with the work of all the rest.

How far this movement exemplifies the spirit of the ideal helper may be seen from the following extracts from its literature. They are taken from the reports of different towns. "The ideal for which we stand is that of the breaking down the barriers of society. We must stop saying, or allowing others to say, 'The poor are lazy, the poor are idle, the poor drink or bet.' We have everything that really matters in common with the poor." "The helper of the future will not be free from misgivings, but in one direction he will have no uncertainty: his best efforts will be directed to the care and influence of the so-called 'Undeserving.'" "The two great principles of the Guild of Help are: (1) to

collect all the forces of the city to bear one another's burdens; (2) To reform the individual so that every man shall be able to bear his own burden." It lays stress also upon the idea of personal service in friendship. "The root principle is that personal service and not alms-giving, is the highest form of charity." "We want to bring out more and more the necessity for social and personal influence. We must give not money but self."

This system calls for a large army of helpers. The doctor, the lawyer, the man of leisure, the man of business have each a part to play. In all cases the giving of help is entrusted to the unpaid voluntary helper. There are paid workers who undertake the work of organisation. A great deal must depend upon their power to guide and inspire the helpers, but it is the voluntary helpers who are in personal touch with the needy. In such delicate work there is much risk. It is difficult to combine spontaneous and unskilled sympathy with disciplined and scientific care. But the Guild believes in training people through practice. When the development of the movement is a little less rapid than it is at present, it will be more possible to realise the ideal combination of science and sympathy. The extent of the service called for may be indicated from the following figures: In Bradford there are 31 Captains with 384 Helpers; in Bolton 36 Captains with 457 Helpers; in Halifax 23 Captains with 330 Helpers; in Sheffield 95 Captains with 1000 Helpers.

The Guild of Help is not the only movement with these ideals. The Church Army long ago organised a band of "Friends of the Poor" as pioneers of personal visitation in London. More recently the "Personal Service League" has been formed to co-operate with existing bodies—Charity Organisation Societies, Distress Committees, and the like—and provide them with men and women who are ready to act under direction, even though they may not have the knowledge of conditions necessary for specialised work.[1] This is clearly stated in an official account of the work required of their members:—"The League undertakes no first-hand investigation of families, and relief is an incidental part of its work. It is primarily a recruiting agency which aims at enlisting volunteers of various types for social service and drafting them to the work for which they are best fitted. On the individual and human side it undertakes to put the helper, without the difficulty and paraphernalia of committee work, in touch with the individual family. The basis of the whole relationship is that of friendly intercourse. The Helper is encouraged to view the relationship, not in a careless or superficial light, but as a very real and fundamental fact in his or her own life as well as in that of the family visited." As an instance of the expression of such friendship, we quote the following: One of the unemployed having

[1] There are many societies calling for help of this kind, for example, the Children's Care Committees, the Invalid Children's Aid Association, and the Children's Country Holiday Fund. The relief of distress cannot well be committed to such untrained workers.

a chance of work, was likely to lose it for lack of a tidy appearance, having pawned his coat. His friend, introduced to him through the Personal Service League, lent him his own overcoat and hat to wear when going to see the employer, with the result that he got the job.

The True Help

It is a cruel feature of a good deal of the help given to people in distress, that it does not lift them out of the need for further dependence. It is still necessary for them to make other appeals before their need is satisfied. They must get a shilling here and a half-crown there; a little help with the rent from one person, a load of coals from another, and a grocery-ticket from a third, before their whole need is satisfied; they are thus indebted to half-a-dozen people, and their circumstances become known to a score. This system of doles must be heart-breaking to those self-respecting families who are visited by misfortune, and it must have a harmful effect at a time when strength is probably low through want of food, and nerve-power weak through overstrain. It is equally disastrous to families that are not self-respecting. Mrs Bosanquet writes :—

"I used to be taught as a child that I must not water my garden unless I were prepared to do it thoroughly; for that to sprinkle the surface of the earth caused the plants to turn their roots upwards in search of moisture instead of striking deeper down into the firm moist soil below; then when the drought came they perished. So

with the unfortunate people who are subjected to this sprinkling charity; they are always on the lookout for the little gifts which come dropping casually in, and they never get a chance of developing resource and self-reliance."[1]

The help required is not necessarily money help. We are too apt to regard money as essential, and there are even people who cannot assure themselves of their care for another unless they express it in a money gift. In almost all of us there lurks the inveterate assumption that help means money. What we want is a new standard of judging. "Silver and gold have I none, but such as I have give I unto thee." It needs apostolic courage, however, to say this to a beggar.

Very often the help that a submerged family most needs is greater mental capital. They are lacking in mental equipment for the struggle of their lives, partly through want of training and partly through physical weakness. They have not the capacity to steer a wise course. The currents against them are too powerful. There are many cases where homes are threatened and independence is undermined, where courage and patience are failing, because the mental resources of the family have been over-taxed. Fresh encouragement is wanted along with counsel. It may not be easy so to give advice that it will be accepted, but it is possible, and it is often the only help that is of any real use. Interest and kindness shown in times of special trouble are more valuable than money. It is by showing sym-

[1] *Rich and Poor*, page 200.

pathy in time of sickness, by brightening the hours of convalescence, by helping to secure work in times of unemployment, and in many other ways, that it becomes possible for us to play the part of a friend to the man who is in trouble.

Having emphasised the fact that the giving of help is not necessarily the giving of money, we go on to consider some of the principles which should guide us when money or its equivalent is given.

The effect of the gift upon its recipient must be most carefully considered. Much well-meant charity does harm instead of good, because it has in view only the immediate relief of distress and does not consider its effect upon character. Amiable intentions do not justify indiscriminate giving. True charity has more than pity, it has moral insight. It does not give blindly, but remembers that its constant purpose is to strengthen character, to encourage self-respect, and to awaken the spirit of independence in the recipient.

"The remedy against the extension of pauperism does not lie in the liberalities of the rich. It lies in the hearts and habits of the poor. Plant in their bosoms a principle of independence, give a higher tone of delicacy to their characters, teach them to recoil from pauperism as a degradation. Count upon the sufficiency of the people."[1] Similarly, Prof. Bosanquet has written, "The British working class generally is not a poor or dependent class. Its provident and self-protecting institutions are

[1] *Chalmers on Charity*, p. 17.

the outcome of its own sense and energy; they are perhaps the finest social phenomena in the world. The social worker's business when dealing with the weak and unhappy social strata, is to maintain a steady drive towards the type of life which the leading working men have created for themselves."

The best kind of gift is that which helps a man or woman into a life of industry. Sometimes a workman needs to have his tools redeemed from the pawnshop; though the better class of workman, unless he be a drunkard, very rarely parts with his tools. In such cases a loan is better than a gift. Sometimes a man has not sufficient initiative or knowledge to seek out the particular work for which he is fitted, or sufficient persuasiveness to obtain a place. In some cases it is necessary to teach a man a new trade. The Bradford Guild of Help have settled eight men by training them as market gardeners. When the London unemployed committee some years ago undertook to help men in distress, they interviewed each one separately, stating their willingness to go to any necessary expense to replace him in active work, and asking him to suggest some method by which he could earn a living. He was allowed a fortnight during which to think over the matter, and in the meantime was provided with temporary work, and a sufficient wage. When he appeared before them with his scheme, it was considered, and, if feasible, was carried out.

This kind of help is frequently required by women who have family responsibilities. The husband dies and the

widow is left penniless with several childen to look after. If the capital could be provided to purchase a mangle or a sewing-machine, to stock a small shop or purchase a hawker's license and stock a basket, she would be able to earn a living. Such cases are by no means uncommon. But it is often very difficult to find work for a woman who can "do anything." Usually this means that she cannot do any one thing well. Many of the women who apply for help in obtaining work, require training. To meet such cases the London Central Unemployed Body has provided workrooms where women can be taught various kinds of needlework. For the few months which they spend in these rooms they are paid rather more than their work is worth, in consideration of their necessitous condition; but this training enables them to find work afterwards, and incidentally it has the advantage that it makes them able for the first time to look after their children's clothes, improves their physique and morale, and adds to their usefulness in other ways.

Often the problem of work is complicated by ill-health. An industrious man is interrupted in his work by sickness, and when he returns he finds his place filled by someone else, or he is not strong enough for his former work, and requires help to find work of another kind. One of the most difficult problems is to provide employment for the numbers of men who, on account of sickness, can no longer undertake heavy work, or are obliged to seek work in the open air. The giving of help in times of exceptional sickness is one of

the most satisfactory forms of charity. At such times, or at times when unforeseen disaster, like the failure of a Provident Society, plunges a family in distress, help of the most liberal kind has a bracing and not an enervating effect.

Secondly, the influence of the gift upon home life must be kept clearly in view. There are some forms of help which destroy the family circle. A boy is removed from the influence of his parents, or is committed to a home because he is unruly; or a parent is removed to a Labour Colony because he is incompetent. While this may be necessary in some cases, it is unfortunate, because it breaks up the home life, and a moral, industrious, self-reliant family life forms the basis of a strong people. But in some cases it is difficult to see how a child can be kept free from contaminating influences if left to the charge of its parents. While it might be more ideal to convert the parents to a different way of life, it seems to be more reasonable to withdraw the child from their influence. But we dare not forget that in doing this we are withdrawing from the family an influence, possibly a very strong influence, in the direction of reform. The following story is an illustration of this point. The husband was a tailor, a good tradesman but a hard drinker. The wife had also taken to drink, but when a boy was born, she signed the pledge and kept it. The boy grew up, a specially fine, noble fellow. He became a member of a Good Templar Lodge. When he was about to be transferred from the Juvenile to the Adult Lodge, he persuaded his father to join with

him. At that time they were living in a one-roomed house in a terrible state of degradation. Under the boy's influence the father kept his pledge, and in a few months they moved from their low-class quarters to a better, more respectable locality, and soon had a beautiful little home. This lasted for three years. Then the lad died. Both parents started to drink again, and were in fact drunk at the funeral. The mother was never again seen sober, and died within a month, literally poisoned with alcohol; the father drank on for a short time, and had to be taken to the workhouse, where he died. One might plausibly have argued for taking away that lad from his parents, if they would have consented, in order to give him a chance; but it would have been a mistake. It is often particularly tempting in the case of a child, obviously sickly and neglected by drunken parents, to remove it away from its home, either permanently or for a time, whereas it might be better to worry the father with his child's need until one's very importunity awakens him to his duty. The sacrifice of sixpence weekly, which would otherwise be spent upon beer, but which is contributed, instead, toward his child's holiday, cannot but react favourably upon his parental feeling.

Often the best kind of help can be obtained through family relations, and the function of the helper is to find out these, and to make the necessary arrangements. A man will be better under the care of a thrifty and beneficent relative who understands him, and will watch him jealously, than in the charge of a helper who has

not known him before and can only see him at comparatively rare intervals.

The work of the Charity Organisation Society may be quoted as illustrating in part these principles of relief. This society was formed at a time when the work of charity was hopelessly disorganised, and most unwise. It therefore set itself to co-ordinate various charitable agencies, to stimulate investigation into all claims for help, and to repress mendicity. Its work must not on that account be judged to be of an impersonal and negative kind. "The Charity Organisation Society is not a mere restrainer and rebuker. It is for ever calling on men and women, not to do less, but always more: helping, in the wisest and most patient ways, every case of want and suffering."[1]

The Society has done a particularly good work in pioneering in the science of sympathetic but discriminating help, and in educating other people to work along similar lines. It has endeavoured to observe, and to instil into the public mind, that charity is work demanding intelligence as well as good nature; that prevention is better than relief; that there should be no waste, no favouritism, and no bribery in the giving of help; that there is no real charity without personal service, and that there is no good result, unless all that is good and strong in the recipient is called forth by the giver. Above everything it has emphasised the family as the unit of all relief and its first and last concern.

"These are the thoughts that underlie Charity

[1] *C.O.S. Occasional Papers*, 1896, pp. 39, 40.

Organisation. Charity is the larger love in which the spiritual and the social blend; and organisation is order.

> " 'To all things order all their worth doth give,
> Nay, dear my friend, to order bring thy heart of love.
> Apart from order ne'er is goodness found.' "

Neighbourliness

We have insisted on the necessity of understanding thoroughly the position of the family before help is given to any of its members. To do so involves careful inquiry, and inquiry seems to presuppose a suspicious attitude altogether contrary to the spirit of respect and trust which we have so strongly urged. This paradox caused the great Dr Chalmers, who did such notable work for the poor of his parish in Glasgow, to believe that a State system of relief, or indeed any system based on inquiry, was bound to fail. Speaking of his own helpers, he says, "The question of the previous habits of the applicant for relief they do not entertain, and if they did entertain it, they would find that its satisfactory solution was far beyond the reach of all their expedients of vigilance and inquiry. Only those who live and work among the poor can reach the hidden sources of distress, and prevent the origin of a disease which no after treatment could arrest or cure. But to the agents and office-bearers of a charity, it is not possible."[1] While rejecting Chalmers' conclusion, we fully endorse his principle. It leads us to the heart of the difficulty.

A weakness of much, perhaps of most relief, lies in the

[1] *Chalmers on Charity*, p. 26.

fact that when the crisis comes there are insufficient links of common knowledge and common sympathy between the man in need and those who can help him. If the life of the community were healthy such natural links of friendship would exist between its poorer and richer members. Perhaps there would not be the division between poorer and richer members, at least in the sense in which it is so to-day. Differences of endowment would not lead to that separateness in ways of living which now creates a gulf between the rich and poor, making them almost unknown and unintelligible to each other. But accepting for a moment the fact of class division, we can conceive a state of things in which the spirit of neighbourliness pervading a district would provide each man with a natural helper, and would bring to light his need of help before it reached the acute stage of distress. The drift of class from class into separate quarters of our cities is a natural, but not inevitable outcome of the want of brotherhood. In cities growing up afresh or guided in their growth according to a plan, this separation exists to a much smaller extent. The poorer houses are not massed together acre after acre by themselves, far away from the better ones. The different districts interlace with one another.

The future is, therefore, not without hope. But what of the immediate present in the large slum areas of great cities? Must we not accept the necessity for relief by special agents and committees with the system of inquiry which that demands? No doubt we must. Yet there are many ways by which those who wish to help may

become, in a more permanent and enduring way, the friends and neighbours of the poor. "Knowledge then gives power to see the real position of families; to suggest in time the inevitable result of certain habits; to keep alive the germs of energy; to waken the gentler thought; to refuse absolutely to give any help but such as rouses self-help; to cherish the smallest lingering gleam of self-respect; and, finally, to be near with strong help should the hour of trial fall suddenly and heavily, and to give it with the hand and heart of a real old friend, who has filled many relations besides that of almsgiver, who has long ago given far more than material help, and has thus earned the right to give the lesser help even to the most independent spirits."[1]

The man who fulfils his duties as a landlord to his tenants obtains the power to help them in times of need. It is his natural right to visit their homes, and he does so without being regarded as a spy or an intruder. By going in and out among them, he obtains that intimate personal knowledge of their affairs which enables him to give the best possible help. The opportunity of the landlord cannot better be described than in the following words of Miss Octavia Hill:—

"It will be readily understood that in such a crisis as that which periodically occurs in the East End of London, instead of being unprepared, I feel myself somewhat like an officer at the head of a well-controlled little regiment, or more accurately, like a country proprietor with a moderate number of well-ordered tenants. For, firstly,

[1] *Homes of the London Poor*, pp. 23, 24.

my people are numbered; not merely counted, but known, man, woman, and child. I have seen their self-denying efforts to pay rent in time of trouble, or their reckless extravagance in seasons of abundance; their patient labour, or their failure to use the self-control necessary to the performance of the more remunerative kinds of work; their efforts to keep their children at school, or their selfish, lazy way of living on their children's earnings. Could anyone, going suddenly among even so small a number as these thirty-four families—however much penetration and zeal he might possess—know so accurately as I what kind of assistance would be really helpful, and not corrupting? And if positive gifts must be resorted to, who can give them with so little pain to the proud spirit, so little risk of undermining the feeble one, as the friend of old standing?—the friend, moreover, who has rigorously exacted the fulfilment of their duty in punctual payment of rent; towards whom, therefore, they might feel that they had done what they could while strength lasted, and need not surely be ashamed to receive a little bread in time of terrible want?"[1]

There are many who think that the only possible way to be a true neighbour to the poor is to live among them. There are some duties indeed which can only be performed in that way. The right to serve on a number of the Local Muncipal Committees depends upon residence in the district. A very important service to a poor neighbourhood can thus be performed by persons of education and administrative power.

[1] *Homes of the London Poor*, p. 34.

In less official ways, however, the resident has a position which the occasional visitor can never gain. He comes to feel the life of the neighbourhood and to be regarded as a neighbour. The opportunities of meeting his fellow-citizens casually, and without arrangement, count for much in establishing familiarity. The Settlements which have grown up of late, give to their residents this advantage as neighbours to the poor. Here, men or women who would ordinarily be found living at the other side of the city share together a common home. Some are people of leisure, others—the majority—have their daily work to do. Their spare time is given to the district in whatever way their inclination leads them.[1] It is significant that in the roughest districts the Settlement is respected and the settler immune from insult; the power of the Settlement lies in its permanence and persistence. Its residents are at hand by day and night. The people in the neighbourhood begin very soon to realise this, and in time of need and trouble turn instinctively to those who share their lives.

The settler, however, need not live in an institution. If he makes his home in a poor district, alone or with a friend, he has some particular advantages over the resident in a Settlement. He is a more normal being. His home is the same size as the homes of other people. As a tenant of similar property to their own he stands on an equality with them as neighbours. When he

[1] For further information see *University and Social Settlements*, 195 pp. (Methuen & Co., 1898, 2s. 6d.), and *Towards Social Reform*, by Canon Barnet (Macmillan & Co., 1908, 3s. 6d.).

invites them to a meal, his house may be to them the exact suggestion of what their houses might become. His home-life may be an ideal for their own. Whether they choose to live in residences, in tenements, or in private houses, many more settlers are needed by the conditions of our slums.

But let it not be supposed that a poor district is devoid of the spirit of neighbourliness. This is by no means the case: the poor can teach lessons of neighbourliness to the rest of the world. They are generally rich in good nature, ready to share each other's misfortunes and to bear each other's burdens. If there is a deficiency in their neighbourliness, it is in a shrinking from bearing the burdens of the character of their friends. They are reluctant to be their brother's keeper in this sense. They hesitate to accept moral responsibility, and exert a conscious force over the development of the qualities of steadiness and independence in others. But the best neighbour I ever knew, writes a friend, was an old woman living on parish relief in an almshouse in a Portsmouth slum. She had a special mission towards a rather drunken flower-seller, named Sally. Her patience was simply untiring. When the old woman fell ill, Sally nursed her night and day for weeks, and never touched a drop of drink for fear she should be 'muddled' when the old woman wanted her. I believe her self-denial amounted almost to a martyrdom.

The Church and Charity

One of the great enemies to the promotion of neigh-

bourliness and the wise administration of relief is the common action of large numbers of congregations in the distribution of their alms. Many of these work with untrained agents and neglect the wise principle that relief should be dissociated from every other kind of benefit. Examples could be quoted where relief has been literally a piece of bribery to induce attendance at religious services. Whole districts have been demoralised by the degrading struggle for the temporal benefits of the Church encouraged by such a system. A wrong conception of religion is produced when relief is allowed to appear in the light of a gospel agency. "It is fatal to ministerial work to be the bearer of alms," writes a vicar; "our experience leads us to think that by far the greater part of our population has come to regard the Church simply as an institution with enormous wealth at its disposal to give away." When relief is given in this way, rivalry between the different churches and chapels is almost inevitable. The overlapping of visiting which results, destroys the possibility of a permanent and inspiring relation between the visitor and the home visited. The cursory visitor is valued for what she brings, and is not known well enough to be regarded as a friend.

To prevent these injurious results a scheme for co-operation between the different bodies in their almsgiving has been devised. This scheme is known as "The Mutual Registration of Societies"; it is at work in Chelsea, where various bodies giving relief agree to register in a central office every case in which they give financial help. The result is that each one is learning

to understand the work of the others, conferences have become more and more frequent between them, and mutual agreements have been reached. The Poor Law Commission proposes to establish a yet more thorough means of preventing overlapping by the appointment of "Voluntary Aid Committees" in every district. These Committees are to organize and control a complete system of voluntary charity, working in close connection with the "Public Assistance Committees" administering public relief. Voluntary Charitable Associations willing to co-operate are to obtain certain rights and privileges in return. Each Voluntary Aid Committee is to keep a register of the cases dealt with in its district, whether by Public Assistance or by Charitable Societies.[1]

The second grave charge against the work of the Church in its almsgiving is that it uses inefficient workers. A good deal of dilettante service has been rendered. Slumming became fashionable some time ago. It is less so now, but we still hear of West-End ladies paying fleeting visits in their motor-cars to East-End Streets. This, however, is a negligible feature of the charge in comparison with the use of zealous and self-sacrificing agents who lack knowledge. It is these—and their name is legion—who complicate the problem of relief. A great deal of harm may be done by the sort of person Mark Twain describes, "with the heart of a female saint and a wrong head." Surely every visitor ought to receive the most careful training, such a training as can best be obtained by working under the direc-

[1] *Poor Law Commission Report*, pp. 624, 625.

tion of others who have bought their experience,[1] and by supplementary study and the use of every possible source of information.[2] Apart from this, ignorance of the lives of those whom it is desired to help must almost certainly result not only in waste of money but in disaster to human life. Nor should we forget the strenuous training in character which the visitor requires. Constant spiritual renewal is needed by those who would minister to others where a man's destiny may depend upon the faith and patience of a helper. It is easy to be so busy with good works that time for this renewal is neglected. The worker fails to restore his own strength by quiet and communion. If the Church could relieve itself of the entanglement of administering charity, it could shake itself free of the suspicion that it shares with the world a belief that man needs mostly material gifts; it could emphasise the truth that character is the one thing needful, and that the best resources are not material but spiritual; and, finally, it could devote itself to the production of workers better qualified in character for their work. Then it would create the spirit of neighbourliness in all ranks of society, teaching those who are above want themselves to be true neighbours to those nearest to them; teaching those whose position separates them socially from the poor, to cross the gulf and establish with them a relation of true and personal friendliness.

[1] The Committees of the Charity Organisation Society welcome visitors, and their Secretaries are always ready to give advice.

[2] For example, *Social Service*, a handbook for workers, 135 pp., Longmans, 1908. 1s. 6d. net.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter IV

Chalmers on Charity. N. Masterman, M.A. 414 pages. Archibald Constable & Co., Westminster, 1900. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Britain's Next Campaign. Julie Sutter. 312 pages. Brimley Johnson, 1904. Price 1s. net.

Rich and Poor. Mrs Bernard Bosanquet. 232 pages. Macmillan & Co., 1896. Price 3s. 6d.

Charitable Relief. C. F. Rogers, M.A., 180 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., 1904. Price 2s. 6d net.

Chalmers on Charity is the classic on this subject. It is "a selection of passages and scenes to illustrate the social teaching and practical work" of the great administrator. *Britain's Next Campaign* is an enthusiast's description of the Elberfeld System and a plea for its establishment in this country. *Charitable Relief* is an orderly treatment of the principles of relief in a series of Handbooks for the Clergy. *Rich and Poor* covers the same ground with more narrative and more description of the light and dark side of life in poor neighbourhoods.

Chapter V

THE FAILURE

In the last chapter we dealt with the man and the family in distress; we turn now to consider the man who has made shipwreck of his life. He may be either a clever and scheming criminal, or a mere weakling. With the professional criminal we are not now concerned. We deal with the man who is weak rather than deliberately wicked—the wastrel, not the villain.

The wastrel is essentially an uneducated person, using the word "education" in its widest sense. He has probably missed the opportunity of education at each successive stage in his life. His home has not given him either a good physical or moral start. He would have fared better if he had been taken from it and brought up in the healthier atmosphere of a good institution. His school never awoke in him an interest in the seeing and doing of things that were good. Had he been a little duller or a little more unruly, he might have received the better-adapted training of an Industrial School. When school-days were passed he most likely took up work of an irregular and uneducative kind, and lived in surroundings full of sensational attraction and danger. If only he had been a little more undisciplined and unrestrained he might have

been committed to the discipline of the Reformatory. Instead of having grown into right thinking and honest living, he has developed in the opposite direction. It is necessary to begin his education again, and to give him the training that he ought to have received successively through a good home, a good school, and a good trade. But this education has now to be carried on in face of difficulties created by the fact that he has matured without having developed, that he has acquired wrong habits, that he has become definitely inclined to idleness and has grown accustomed to working badly. His tastes have been vitiated and his character has deteriorated. He has grown slack and unreliable. He is subject to many temptations, to self-indulgence and excitement, to idleness and dishonesty. His only hope is to be removed from his present environment that he may be recreated away from the disturbing influences of his former life.

The shelter or discipline of an Institution is indeed required by thousands. Many who have learned that it is sometimes easier to live dishonestly by their wits, than honestly by their hands, are picking up a miserable existence from scraps of charity. Professional cadgers may be traced in their wanderings from mission to mission throughout any city in a search that is undoubtedly a search for the bread that perisheth. When a woman has been proved to have received the sum of fifteen shillings obtained in a single afternoon by the repetition of an untrue tale of woe from door to door, it is time that her liberty was taken away. When a girl

is found without relatives or friends, drifting into a life of idleness and mendicancy, it is a kindness to remove her from the streets. When a mother is so enslaved to drink that she will pawn the surgical appliances upon which the life of her child depends, she is only fit to live under close restraint.[1] When a man has so far become devitalized that he has lost all power of will and yields to every trifling temptation in spite of repeated warning and as frequent contrition, he is not rightly allowed to live at large. A long process of treatment is wanted to restore him to independent manhood. Strong rebuke or stern correction may change the life-course of a man of strong but distorted purpose; but the man without moral bone and muscle requires a more gradual and educational process of restoration.

Prison and Workhouse

This, however, is not the point of view which we have hitherto adopted in this country in our treatment of criminals. If we have isolated them in prison it has been solely in the interests of society; if we have meted out punishment, it has been in order to repress crime, rather than to reform character. Indeed, in our concern to make the punishment fit the crime we have almost lost sight of the criminal. To take a single example. Experts now agree that the drunkard should be regarded as a hospital patient, and provided with mild medicines,

[1] These instances are taken from life.

strong special diet, an atmosphere of quiet and rest. Till recently we invariably clapped him into gaol.[1]

We have most of us obtained in some way a fairly accurate idea of what a prison is. Fiction is full of references to it, and we have recently had some vivid representations, both literary and dramatic, of modern prison life, since, for various reasons, members of the more educated portion of the community have been making themselves liable to imprisonment. We picture the gloom and cheerlessness of the prison cell, where the prisoner must sometimes sit in solitary confinement. We know the gaoler as an austere and silent man, and we do not think of him with the qualities to inspire the prisoner with new hopes or new ideals. We follow the prisoner to his labour, not expecting to find there anything which makes labour attractive. When he has served his term we see him leave the prison no better qualified and no more inclined for honest work than when he had entered it. True, we have moved far from the conditions described by Charles Reade in his novel, *It is never too Late to Mend.* Prisons are no longer the dark, dirty, disease-producing places that they once were, nor are prisoners usually ill treated. Nevertheless the system rests upon the retaliative principle. The prisoner is led to believe that mere submission to punishment purges him of his fault. The criticism passed by Sir Godfrey Lushington some fifteen years ago to Mr Herbert Gladstone's Departmental Committee still holds good:—"I regard as unfavourable to reformation the

[1] See *Drunkenness as a Disease*, by Dr Clouston.

status of a prisoner throughout his whole career: the crushing of self-respect, the starving of all moral instinct he may possess, the absence of all opportunity to do or receive a kindness, the continual association with none but criminals, the forced labour, and the denial of all liberty." In an article in the *Westminster Review*, the writer asserts, "If the penal laws of the past teach us anything, they teach us that crime cannot be put down by mere severity. Seventy per cent. of the men discharged from American prisons of the old type return to a criminal career. Beyond question, as deterrents of crime, prisons have failed."

Similar in method and in aim, though equally unsatisfactory in its results, is the Workhouse. This institution is, of course, intended for a different class of the community. It deals, if we may so say, with the negative criminal. No one has ever claimed for it that it was designed to reform those who entered it. Its object has been to make a life of industry more desirable in contrast with the distastefulness of the régimes which it provided for those who sought its shelter. The judgment of the recent Poor Law Commission is emphatic as to its failure.

"The Commissioners were convinced, both from the evidence they received and from what they themselves saw, that there is a class of persons to whom workhouse life has ceased to be deterrent, and that many, even of those who shrink from it at first, rapidly deteriorate under its influence, until they come to prefer it to the more strenuous and responsible life of the outside

world."[1] "These institutions have a depressing, degrading, and positively injurious effect on the character of all classes of their inmates, tending to unfit them for the life of respectable and independent citizenship." "Life in the workhouse does not build character up, it breaks down what little independence and alertness of mind is left. It is too good for the bad, and too bad for the good."[2]

Thus we are faced by the serious fact that "in England we have no serious attempt to reform criminals over the age of twenty-one, outside the inebriate reformatories. We have industrial and reformatory schools for children and young persons, and these, in many cases, are very good. We have the Borstal System for young men between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one. For the adult offender, however, there is no reformative system."[3]

Reformative Institutions

Unless we are prepared to admit that the adult offender is beyond the hope of reform this state of things cannot be regarded as satisfactory. And we have certainly no right to make this assumption till we have given each man a chance. Hitherto he may have been surrounded invariably by untoward circumstances. It is only just to try the result of a better régime and begin again the process

[1] *Poor Law Report*, Mrs Bosanquet, p. 95 (Macmillan & Co., 1909, 3s. 6d.).

[2] The Commission proposed to abolish the present system of workhouses for the able bodied.

[3] Capt. A. F. St John, of the Penal Reform League.

of his education. If he has failed in industry it may have been due to physical defect. It is rare to find a man committed to a Labour Colony in a fit state of health for work, indeed it may be necessary for weeks and months to treat him as a semi-invalid. "Generally speaking, when men arrive at the Colony," writes the Secretary of the Central Unemployed Body for London, "they are in a weak state physically, as they have probably prior to selection withstood several months' unemployment. But two or three weeks of regular food, and proper lodging accommodation, speedily remedies this, and the men show a more reliant spirit, and are better able to tackle the duties required of them."

One reason why the Labour Colony does not and cannot be expected to pay is that the average inmate is physically unable to do a day's work worthy of a man. It often proves that the open-air life of the Colony presently restores a man both physically and morally. Men of the most dangerous type, who have come to the Salvation Army more like half-starved wild beasts than human beings, have been changed into orderly and decent citizens after a few months' kindness and work.

In any case, if there be doubt as to the possibility of his recovery, the "failure" should surely be given the benefit of it. A prison chaplain in Glasgow gave it as his opinion that the men inside the gaol were on the average no worse than the men outside. If such an opinion can be held by an expert, the average man may well refuse to brand the criminal as hopeless, agreeing with T. E. Brown—

"In men whom men condemn as ill,
I find so much of goodness still;
In men whom men pronounce divine,
I find so much of sin and blot,
I hesitate to draw the line,
Where God has not."

The experiments which are being carried out in other countries are therefore peculiarly instructive. Reformatories for adults are steadily replacing the older prisons. The following is an account of what would happen to a man convicted under this new system. His sentence would probably read "one to fourteen years," which would mean that he must serve at least one year, and that he might be kept fourteen years if his conduct did not, in the meantime, satisfy the officers as promising that he would behave as a good citizen upon his release. On entering, he goes before the General Superintendent, and the term of his sentence is explained to him. He is told that it rests entirely with him whether he stays beyond the one year, and that everything possible will be done to help him. If he needs training he will receive it, but he will be required to perform a reasonable amount of labour daily, and a careful record of his conduct and industry will be kept. His release will depend upon whether that record is satisfactory. From the day of his entrance he begins to receive personal attention. His physical strength is studied, and work given in accordance with it. His special aptitude for a particular trade is watched so that he may be trained for it. His choice of associates is carefully guarded, so that he shall not be in the companionship of more

hardened criminals. His dress consists in an inexpensive neat suit of cadet blue that might be worn by a civilian. He has good, wholesome, plain food to eat, and a good bed to sleep in. A library of well-selected books and a large stock of the best magazines are at his service. In the "School of Letters" he is taught history, civics, physiology, and hygiene, and more elementary subjects, if need be, by citizen teachers. Meanwhile inquiries are made into his past, and these also are taken into account in determining when it will be wise to release him. On release he is secured employment with some responsible individual or firm, and he goes out to try the life of a free man, respectably dressed with his ticket purchased to his place of employment, and funds in his pocket to meet all necessary expenses until he receives his first wages. He goes not entirely a free man, but on parole. For some time, not to exceed the maximum of his sentence, a satisfactory report must reach the institution each month so long as the authorities desire. If the report is unsatisfactory, he may be returned without trial to serve the remainder of his sentence. Experience goes to show that 75 per cent. of the men who go out on parole earn a discharge, and at least 60 per cent. become respectable citizens.

The nearest approach which we have in this country to the system which has just been described is the Borstal System. This is limited, however, to lads between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, who are committed to prison for sentence of at least twelve months. The system is limited in this way because it was believed that it

was at this age that the majority of habitual criminals were made, and that the existing system had a bad effect upon young prisoners. At present there is accommodation in Borstal, Lincoln, and Dartmoor for 340 prisoners undergoing this treatment, and the accommodation is being considerably extended. Its distinctive feature consists in the fact that during their term of punishment all the prisoners are taught to work. At Borstal there is training provided in carpentry, building, smithing, digging, market-gardening, and agricultural work. At Dartmoor instruction is also given in plumbing and gas-fitting, basket-making, and shoemaking. A small party is engaged in building cottages under a mason; the floors, doors, and windows, lead-work, and other fittings, including the slating of the roofs and the paving of the yards, are all done by the convicts. Borstal is being enlarged by the boy-prisoners.

The chief defect of this system is that the term of training is usually too short. Except in cases of penal servitude, which go to Dartmoor, it never exceeds two years, in spite of the fact which the Home Secretary pointed out in a circular addressed to judges, that, "having regard to the antecedents of most of the lads, their lax or vicious upbringing, and, later, their undisciplined and criminal modes of life, it cannot be expected that habits of regular application to work and steadiness of morale should be instilled, without a long course of training and discipline."

It is not enough to teach a lad how to work, if he has no disposition for it, unless he is also taught to find

some pleasure either in the process or in the rewards which it brings. Hence it is desirable that the more satisfactory and industrious a worker the lad becomes, the more interesting should be his occupation, and the more satisfying the life which he is allowed to lead. The Reformatory should seek to prove that obedience to authority, regular labour, abstinence from harmful indulgences, and a certain amount of study and reflection lead to a happier and more successful life than laziness, idleness, indulgence, and ignorance. In the Borstal System those lads who have qualified by five months' good behaviour for the privileges of the special grade are allowed various enjoyments, such as better cell furniture, together with some common life in the reading-room, with magazines and the opportunity for conversation, as well as games, such as chess and draughts. Of 88 lads who passed through the Reformatory in 1906, 40 were reported in steady work a year later, 15 were still unprovided for, 10 had disappeared, and 16 had been reconvicted.

We have seen that in other countries, and to a very limited extent also in this country, the Reformatory is beginning to take the place of the prison. The system proposed instead of the workhouse is the penal labour colony. The Poor Law Commission has said with great emphasis that the efforts of present labour colonies are not successful, but it attributes this to their voluntary character and their lack of power to enforce the treatment which they deem necessary for their inmates. The labour colony differs from the reformatory in that

it provides for a man who is a less decided offender against the law, and who therefore requires less stringent treatment. Indeed, it provides for the man who has committed no actual offence, but who from sheer incompetence or misfortune is unable to earn his own living. In consequence of the different objects which these colonies have in view they differ greatly in type.

We have at one end of the scale a colony like that at Merxplas in Belgium. This is a Penal colony. Of its 5000 inmates, rather more than one thousand are blind and incapable persons. The others are, in the main, beggars, tramps, and thieves, the class which, in England, haunts highways, loafs in streets, lounges about public-house doors, and is the plague of public parks. There are also a few of the worst prison cases, but these are kept separate, being confined in cells. A measure of liberty is granted to the colonists. The place is not walled in, so that any of the regular inhabitants can disappear, but if they are unable to make their own living they are liable to be returned to Merxplas on the first conviction, no tramps being countenanced in Belgium. In the colony they are engaged in every form of labour, and all work is paid for, though at a low rate, so that there is an inducement to work. The colony is a little world to itself. It makes almost everything it requires, grows its own vegetables, makes its own boots and clothes, does its own printing. Indeed, practically everything is made at Merxplas from a church to a man.

One of the German labour colonies claims that it restores 600 men each year. At Copenhagen it is claimed that two-thirds of those who reach the higher class of wage-earners in the colony are eventually helped back to the land, where they find permanent and profitable employment in the milk and butter trades.

At the other end of the scale we have the Free Colony or Home provided for those who of their own accord become inmates for a period of a few months. The labour homes of the Church Army, Salvation Army, and the Church of Scotland, for example, are all of this kind. In the Church Army labour homes, all sorts and conditions of men are received, from the workhouse and the streets, from the casual wards and from the police courts, in all stages of want and distress. Previous bad character is no barrier, on condition that they agree to work. The system is justified by its results. It leads the Church Army to believe that the establishment of a national system on these lines would cope with the evils of vagrancy and beggary. More than 50 per cent. of the men who stay in the homes obtain a fresh start in life and enter the world again with a new hope. A striking picture is given by Mr Mackenzie in his book *Waste Humanity*, illustrating the result of the work of the Salvation Army labour colony at Hadleigh. "We were seated in a comfortable compartment in a Salvation Army 'Special,' soon to start for Liverpool. My dozen or so companions were sturdy, decently dressed, clear-eyed, and active-looking. Yet barely a year ago these were wastrels taken from the streets of London, and since made men

in the fields of Essex. They were to prove their manhood afresh in Greater Britain."

It is essential that there should be authority in any reformative process, and that it should be effective for a long enough time to secure its object. The great weakness of the labour colonies in this country is the inability of the authorities to hold men to the discipline of the colony for a sufficient time. This is the ground, as we have just said, upon which they have been condemned. At the Poor Law Commission, General Booth, in his scheme for dealing with vagrancy by labour colonies, proposed that men should be committed for periods of not less than six months, the length of the term depending upon the conduct of the men at the colony. He would have disciplinary powers granted at the labour colonies by the Home Secretary, and powers given to magistrates to commit men to these colonies for the offence of vagrancy. He proposes also that men should be committed on their own application. The report of the Departmental Committee on vagrancy endorses this suggestion. "We consider that the need of some power of keeping habitual vagrants in detention for long periods is clearly proved, and in view of the impossibilities of making a prison serve the purpose, we feel we have no alternative but to recommend that compulsory labour colonies should be established in this country. Even if they do not reform, at least they may clear the streets of the habitual vagrant and loafer, may make him lead a more useful life during his detention,

and may offer a real deterrent to those starting on a life of vagrancy."

A further limitation of such colonies is stated by the Superintendent of Hollesley Bay. They fail to offer the men who come there sure prospects of successful life when their term finishes. In this colony the men only remain for sixteen weeks, and many return to seek work in the city amid the old difficulties and discouragements. The scheme which the Superintendent wishes to carry out would enable men after a sufficient training to settle down on small holdings in the country, working with some guidance from the officials of the colony upon a co-operative basis. In this way new colonists would see the possibility of themselves becoming small holders like those who have gone before them.

The Secret of Reform

It seems probable that both the prison and the Labour Colony will approximate in the future to the reformatory model, with trade instruction and open-air life. The discipline calculated to restore those who have failed has certain constant features, whether the failure has been in honesty, industry, or sobriety. In the following study of the process of reformation, we therefore illustrate indiscriminately from work of either type.

In certain moods and in the early stages of treatment, after a long career of licence, a prisoner needs to be subject to severe restraints. The harsher methods of treatment have been abandoned in many reformatories:

corporal punishment, because it fostered a spirit of unrest that interfered with the relations of confidence and regard between the officers and the men; the reduction of the food allowance, because a well-nourished person is in a more normal mental condition and therefore more easily susceptible to moral treatment than one who is hungry; close confinement, because of its depressing effect.

But special measures are still necessary for the unruly. The Elmira Reformatory has adopted the following plan: "A wing, containing fifty-six large, airy, well-lighted cells, has been cut off from the rest of the institution. When a man drops to the third grade he immediately enters this wing and is never again heard of by the general population till he reforms sufficiently to be restored to the second grade. This third grade wing is a reformatory within a reformatory, bearing about the same relation to the rest of the institution that the latter bears to free life. The food is the same as that outside, and there are no special physical discomforts or restraints. Work is provided, which a man may perform with the others in the broad corridors, if he is quiet, and must perform in his cell if he misbehaves. Officers, carefully selected for their dignity, firmness, and patience, are placed in charge. Thirty days of perfect demeanour entitle a third-grade man to promotion, which means restoration to the general life and activity of the institution. Failing of this he remains secluded indefinitely from all except those of his own class. As a matter of fact few remain over a month, and none beyond two or three. The psychology of it is

not easy to explain, but, as a matter of fact, even the most hardened and troublesome men soon become exceedingly anxious to get out of this comfortable, but humdrum sort of a place, and put forth efforts to that end as surprising as they are pleasing. Any day the edifying spectacle can be seen of men who heretofore prided themselves on their criminal records and general toughness, and who would regard corporal punishment or physical restraint, like handcuffing, as a tribute to their greatness, and who would seek conflict with authority as a means of becoming heroes in the eyes of milder men, scrubbing the floor or darning socks all day, and treading lightly and speaking softly in the hope thereby of getting a chance once more to enjoy life by taking part in the regular routine."

The principle of treatment according to behaviour is applied also to the régime in the free labour colonies. For example, in the Salvation Army Colony at Hadleigh, a colonist is placed first in the lowest grade, and allowed sixpence weekly pocket-money, and the simplest accommodation on the farm. His surroundings are gradually improved, his food bettered, and his allowance increased. He is encouraged to save a sufficient sum to start afresh in life. Indeed in every good reformatory system this principle is allowed to rule. The conduct of the prisoner determines both his treatment within the institution and the date of his release from it. In the former respect the system is known as "The Grading System"; in the latter respect it is known as "The Indeterminate Sentence." Its working in New South

Wales is thus described in the Comptroller-General's report :—

"A progressive-stage system has been brought into operation by which a well-behaved and industrious person can rise from grade to grade, each step upwards being attended by various concessions and indulgences. One feature of the treatment is, that an industrious man is able to earn a fair wage, a portion of which he can spend on extra articles for his comfort. Should he so desire, he may send a portion of his earnings to his family or relatives, the remainder being credited to his account against the time when he will regain his liberty. . . . A consultative committee composed of the visiting justice, the chaplains, the medical officers, and such other persons as may from time to time be appointed, carefully observe each case and forward reports at periodical intervals; and, at stated times, the Comptroller-General furnishes full particulars, showing conduct, industry, stage of reform, etc., concerning each person to the Minister of Justice, who determines if the time has arrived for restoring the prisoner to liberty. But no release is absolute until a period of twelve months' probation has been passed under a modified system of restraint, during which time the probationer is always liable to be sent back for further treatment should his conduct be unsatisfactory."

The term of imprisonment thus depends upon the prisoner's conduct. The fixing of the sentence by the judge belongs to a period when the sentence was a rough attempt to assign an equivalent of punishment for the crime committed. When once the reformative

principle takes the place of the retributive, it becomes possible to determine the length of the sentence according to the moral progress of the prisoner. Once conceived, this is the only possible basis upon which it can be determined. "The Judge or Magistrate is not in a position to know how long it will take to cure a prisoner or what treatment he needs. Educational experts, after close study of the individual, may be in such a position."[1] Hence the reformatory officers are allowed to influence the term of each man's service. They do not let their prisoner go until he is reformed, or until the maximum term of the sentence has expired. Some would even remove this maximum limit rather than send back into the world men who are certainly unfit. Dr Devon, of the Glasgow prison, believes that there are certain types which can never be equipped for the temptations and physical strain of city life, though they might be restored to liberty in the country, under guardianship in religious homes. The experience of the continental labour colonies supports the view that a man may deteriorate so far in mind and body as to be unable to stand alone. Numbers of the men at Merxplas are habitual inmates who cannot keep from drink or idleness away from the shelter of the colony.

As the time approaches for a prisoner's release rules are steadily relaxed, and more and more liberty is allowed. The discipline of the regiment, designed to make men smart and obedient under rule, gives place

[1] From an article, "The Indeterminate Sentence," by A. St John, in the *Sociological Review*, October 1908, p. 381.

to the discipline of the outer world, in which men must determine their own conduct and exercise self-control away from all immediate restraint. Discipline is too often thought of as discipline exercised by superiors, but the effective discipline of life is largely exercised by one's equals. A man will cringe before the censure of his companion where he would be proud to defy a recognised authority. Hence in the best Reformatories a measure of self-government is given to the inmates, and the goodwill of its more civilized members enlisted in the work of maintaining a good tradition in the common life. Authority exercised with harshness or without apparent reason makes men sullen or resentful: it is no training for liberty. The true discipline is that which stirs up a man's affection for his superiors; wins his respect for authority; cajoles him to work steadily and to enjoy himself temperately, proving the goodness of a life of moderate industry and moderate enjoyment; trains him to the better use of his hands and his mind until he learns to respect himself as a man of more capacities than he thought; and teaches him to hope for a future in which he may play his part in the world as an honest man.

But when we remember the strength of temptation which must meet a man as he goes forth to take up the thread of his life again, we cannot but believe that change of heart must accompany the change of habit induced by the Reformatory, if the man is to stand firm. Men must be converted before they are satisfactorily restored. "Accidental offenders" need but the opportunity of reflection to return to their real mind and go forth

naturally fixed in resolution to live straight. But in many other cases deterioration has gone so far that the character has been hopelessly wrecked. Charles Booth said that the only cure for the drunkard was that he should recover self-respect. One of the great barriers in the way of recovery for the prostitute is that her self-respect has gone. Some new hope for the future is required, and that hope must be ultimately religious. It is through the new life which Christ imparts that men who have lost all hope for themselves find new hope in a life joined to His. It is a spiritual reformation that is needed, though it may come in ways that do not appear to be primarily spiritual. The Salvation Army begins to teach the ex-criminal that it believes in him by letting him mix freely with other inmates of its institutions, and by maintaining absolute silence concerning his past. Those who have been present at the Sunday Morning Meeting held at Blackfriars when men in destitution are treated first to a simple meal, and then to a two-hours' service, will remember how crudely this spiritual message is conveyed. Man after man in the Army stands up and testifies to the dejected men before him that he was just such another as they. He tells his record of misery and crime, and he concludes with a reference to his present respectable dress and physical fitness, and with an outburst of thanks to God and to the Army for the change. The fulness and meaning of the gospel message is not given in such addresses, but hope is then born in many a man's heart, and with overwhelming shame for the past a process of change is begun.

The work of "the Army" justifies, as it illustrates, the cheerful optimism which can promise a future for the worst blackguards and wastrels the world has produced. It has always an open door for any man or woman, however debauched and shameless they may have grown. Its books show the most amazing accounts of the restoration of confirmed criminals, prodigals, and hooligans. Missions like that at the Central Hall, Manchester, are accustomed to see men and women converted and renewed when every other means to help has failed. The secret lies in the undaunted faith of the rescuer.

The process of reformation is indeed a difficult one, both morally and educationally, requiring the highest qualities of mind and character. Hence the importance of securing in all grades of prison work men of inspiring personality. It is said of Superintendent Scott, of the New York State Reformatory, "If anything could transform a doubter into the most incorrigible optimist, it is daily contact with young men who have been under the spell of this remarkable personality." "He made a man of me," said one of his men; "He is the grandest man I ever knew," said another. "He came up to me soon after I went there," says a third, "and spoke some words to me so kindly that they seemed to lift me right up. I tell you I would do anything for that man.' It is of the utmost importance to attract men of such calibre to the prison work and allied services.[1]

[1] This is one of the objects of the Penal Reform League.

Probation

On leaving a Colony or Reformatory it is most important that men should find friends. They are about to undergo a very difficult change. From regular routine and friendly supervision they are returning to liberty and temptation alike in their pleasures and in their associates. It is a testing time. Even when a man has undergone such change that he is thoroughly converted to a better way of living, it is well for him if some friend can stand by him, and strengthen his resolution, as it is assailed point by point. For a long time he has been sheltered from the fiercest temptations, now they return with swift and unexpected attack.

For this purpose the Church Army arrange, where possible, Lodging Homes close to their Labour Homes, primarily for men who have passed through the latter and are now at work in the ordinary way. In a similar way the Prisoners' Aid Associations, including the Salvation Army, offer their help to prisoners on their release. These Associations are allowed to visit a prisoner for some months prior to his release in order to establish friendship. They afterwards meet the prisoner at the prison gates. In connection with the Borstal System already described there is a Borstal Association to take charge of each lad on his discharge; it endeavours to secure him employment, and prevent him from drifting into bad habits.

The excessive difficulty of restoring changed men to unchanged surroundings raises the question whether

they should ever have been withdrawn. Might they not have been reformed by an equal amount of attention given to them in their own homes? The superintendent of a State Reformatory which has one of the highest reputations in the world is reported to have said words to this effect: "Don't send anyone here unless you have given up all hope of him." The special institution with segregation from ordinary society should be a last resort. It is dangerous to withdraw a man from the support and censure of his fellows. The cases in which a man draws no encouragement from the affection of some member of his circle are very few. Further, there are in everyone's surroundings certain personal obligations to others which he is more or less in the way of fulfilling, even though they may be in some ways distasteful to him. If he is removed from these obligations for a time, he may be the less willing to fulfil them when he returns. And finally the everyday open life of work and play along with other men amid the varied interests of the world has a stimulating and educative value which must be set against the possible advantages of life in an institution. For these reasons the attempt is now being made to reform offenders by careful personal supervision in their own homes under a system known as "Probation."

According to this system, where the judge considers that an offender does not show signs of any confirmed criminal characteristics, he may, before proceeding to conviction, bind over the offender and put him under the supervision of a probation officer. The offender is liable to be convicted and sentenced if the officer

reports to the magistrate that his subsequent conduct is not satisfactory. The officer is obliged to visit him frequently, for the first month not less than once a week. Probation is adopted in this country "where the court is of opinion that having regard to the character, antecedents, age, health, or mental condition of the person charged, or to the trivial nature of the offence, or to the extenuating circumstances under which the offence was committed, it is expedient to release the offender on probation." In this case the offender is placed under supervision for a period not exceeding three years.

Probation is much more than a mere suspended sentence under which the culprit may drift back into evil ways unwarned and unchecked, until he comes up for some fresh crime as a second offender. The probationer is carefully watched and guarded. A probation officer has been described as a friend who will stand no nonsense, and Probation as a system by which offenders "are impelled to do right under conditional freedom, and firm, but friendly surveillance." The officer endeavours above all else to secure the confidence of the probationer: he studies the case carefully, and adapts his future work to the individual needs. Sometimes he interests the probationer in healthy sports and amusements, or in cases of illness arranges for a physician or a nurse. He may secure charity for a family, or report the probationer to a church or Sunday-school as one in need of such ministrations. Again, he may assist in securing employment for him, or in bringing about a better understanding between the probationer

and his employer. Sometimes he may interpose to make a parent more careful of his children, or a husband more faithful to his wife.

The Probation System has been successfully applied in cases of debt, where formerly a sentence of imprisonment was passed. American experience in this matter is much ahead of our own. The defaulter is allowed to continue on probation, provided that he repays his debt, or refunds the amount which he has stolen in regular instalments prescribed by the magistrate. This System has a threefold advantage:—the injured party gets back what he has lost; the public do not have the expense of maintaining a prisoner; and the defaulter himself continues at work without any break, and is subject to a beneficial discipline, more or less voluntary, but none the less strict. Moreover, the repayment of a debt is a more valuable lesson in justice than the endurance of imprisonment.

Another splendid feature of the System has been the promotion of good relations between probationers and their wives and families. Out of 101 married men who came under the notice of the officers in New York, 48 were, at the time of their arrest, living separated from their wives, and, in some cases, from their children. In all these cases it was found possible to secure the reunion of the families. The following instance of a youth of seventeen put on probation after conviction for a serious theft will illustrate the possibilities of the method:—This boy's father was a drunkard, his mother dead, his brother a Reformatory inmate, his home without

even a bed and with the rent three months in arrears, and he himself living away from home with a prostitute. The probation officer secured work for the boy, induced him to go home to live, and by patient efforts completely changed the home conditions. He arranged a compromise with the landlord about the rent, and paid for one month in advance; he induced a friend to provide furniture and other household necessities; he encouraged the grown-up sister to attend to the home duties; and by keeping watch over the father was able to overcome his drunkenness for nearly two years. The probationer is now happily married and working steadily.

It is sufficiently clear that officers of good calibre are required. Both paid and voluntary service is employed. Officers may be definitely appointed for a term of thirteen months, or a probationer may be put under the supervision of any person whom the court considers qualified for the work. In all cases the officers are required to be persons of good education, having knowledge of the industrial and social conditions of the locality. Voluntary workers are preferred to police officials. The choice naturally falls upon those who are already busy in the interests of the neighbourhood, and whose supervision does not compromise the probationer. Success depends upon intimate knowledge of the probationer's surroundings and upon the power of gaining his friendship. As before in the case of distress, so now in the case of failure we see that the best, if not the only solution, lies in an increase of the spirit and practice of friendliness.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter V

A Colony of Mercy. Julie Sutter. Brimley Johnson, 1904. 1s. net.

The Continental Outcast. Rev. W. Carlile. 143 pages. T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. 1s. net.

Waste Humanity. F. A. Mackenzie. 113 pages. The Salvation Army, 1908-1909. 6d.

Prisons, Police, and Punishment. Edward Carpenter. A. & C. Fifield, 1905. 1s. net and 2s. net.

The Making of the Criminal. Russell & Rigby. 356 pages. Macmillan & Co., 1906. 3s. 6d.

Punishment and Reformation. Dr F. H. Wines, 1895. Sonnenschein. 6s.

Agencies and Methods for Dealing with the Unemployed in certain Foreign Countries. [Cd. 2304]. 236 pp. Wyman & Son, 1904. 1s.

Reports of British Labour Colonies. See Appendix.

It is difficult to pick out the proper books to recommend in connection with this chapter. *A Colony of Mercy* describes an inspiring piece of work in Germany for helping defectives and settling other weaklings on the land. In *The Continental Outcast* the head of the Church Army gives brief descriptions and criticisms of the Land Colonies and Relief Systems of Northern Europe. *Waste Humanity* is a vivid sketch of the Salvation Army work for outcasts. These are all books to read rather than study. Edward Carpenter's book is a penetrating ethical analysis of our treatment of crime, original, suggestive, but not authoritative. *The Making of the Criminal* is the best book for those who are content to study the subject of criminal treatment in strict limitation to the case of boys. No similar book deals with the criminal treatment of adults with the same thoroughness in the same compass. Dr Wines' book is said to be the best.

Chapter VI

THE DEEPER NEED

Distress and failure, weakness and peril call us to their aid. The call comes up from wretched homes, where infancy is cradled in ill-health and physical neglect; from schools and streets, where childhood is forming habits and gaining interests that will dominate the future for good or evil; from workshops and clubs, in which the temptations of youth are being resisted and the energies of youth directed; from places where want threatens the independence of manhood and the integrity of family life; from the shelters and refuges where fallen men and women are being rescued from their past failure. Stunted bodies and dwarfed minds, characters distorted or arrested in their true development, plead with us for a share of our strength. Services which have successfully combated disease and death, which have restored health and renewed life, add their entreaty. Want impels and hope beckons to this work of Rescue.

The need and the opportunities are alike great. We have not elaborated the need; words cannot express it; those who are unaware of it must see it face to face. Those who have seen it will respond, or else chivalry and pity will shrivel out of their souls. The opportunities enumerated in this book are surely diverse enough for

all degrees of capacity and all varieties of temperament. And if these are not enough there are others. To take but two instances: the opportunities for service connected with the medical profession have been largely overlooked, and the work most closely associated with the ministrations of the Church—that of Deaconesses, Parish Sisters, and Lay Readers, and the Ordained Ministry itself—has been barely mentioned. There is work for all: for those whose leisure is small, for those who can give their whole time to it freely, and for those who can make it their means of livelihood. In one way or other a call comes to everyone to renounce some pleasure, or profit, or ambition, to forego some joy and embrace some poverty, to set free at least a little time and energy to bestow upon the poor. More life must be poured into the work, more energy must be liberated before the solution is found. Many must make the service of the poor their life-work.

There is no life-work worthy of a man that is not indirectly a life of service, making others rich. But while so much misery exists and so much life has gone hopelessly adrift, a special call sounds out for lives wholly and directly devoted to the work of Rescue. Till lately it may have been the prerogative of the well-to-do to respond to this call, but it is no longer so. Much of the work is passing out of the voluntary stage: more posts are created every month; and in those which have existed all along more scope is given year by year for the full expression of the spirit of service. The public services of education and relief and reform grow

steadily less and less mechanical, more and more sensitive to human needs, more directed toward the development of character, more worthy of the investment of life. Where any branch of service remains unaffected by the newer impulse, force of character is the more needed within its ranks to force open the channels for the free flow of life. Teachers and Inspectors of Schools, Governors and Chaplains of Prisons, Masters and Matrons of Workhouses are those who may quicken the pace of progress and make better ideals prevail. The spirit of the age is with them. Elementary education no longer makes Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic its object. Repressive measures in prison and workhouse give way before more hopeful and restorative methods; a kindlier spirit would banish the memory of the "poor law" and let its very name perish. Training of character, assistance for the weak, reformation of the offender, these are the new watchwords which are to sway the future services of the State. When this is the trend of the public services it is opportune to plead for men and women to devote their lives to these and all the other unofficial and supplementary activities of the nation on behalf of its weaker members. This book is to be read by many who are students, and who have now the opportunity in an open field of choosing to what work their energies shall be given. "Such calls come to many University men in their College days," writes George Hare Leonard. "It is theirs to leave the fields of ambition where the labourers are many, and the harvest not worth carrying away, for the world itself where the harvest is so great, and where the

labourers are still so few. It is theirs to leave great services, which may be honourably performed by honourable men, for nobler loves and nobler cares." But this choice does not belong to students only. There are many others who have made their choice, or who have drifted into their occupation, for whom it is not too late to choose afresh some work that would better satisfy their desire to serve their fellow-men.

The qualification for all such service is personality. New watchwords need new men: where character is the essence of the new watchwords this is doubly true. The spirit of an institution cannot be changed unless the incoming idea is caught up and expressed by its agents. It is useless to change the aim of education without finding teachers inspired with the higher ideal.

If education is intended to teach writing and arithmetic, well trained automatons may serve as teachers. But if, on the other hand, education is intended to instil the love of beautiful objects and fine deeds, to foster habits of obedience and instincts of pure affection, to quicken and vitalise the mind and the imagination of the scholar, then automatons will not serve. Teachers are wanted who are themselves alive, keen in their interests, vigorous in spirit, clean and decided in love and in hate. The greater the poverty of the home environment, the more vitality is required in the teacher. From the "Special Schools" for the least promising children the appeal comes with the greatest urgency. In order to educate a child with warped ideals and perverted tastes, the teacher must maintain a steady pressure in

favour of the better way of life. And this must be done against the handicap of the child's weak body and feeble mind, with the added embarrassment of a code not yet fully animated by educational ideals and sometimes under the eye of an inspector almost totally unsympathetic toward them. Strength, endurance, patience, and undaunted hope are the qualifications for this most exacting duty.

Personality is needed equally in the work of Reformation. A precise and machine-like sergeant can exact obedience to prison rules; a perfunctory and code-bound official can administer the public funds in relief; it requires a man with moral force and human kindness to reclaim the character of others through the discipline of the reformatory, or through the bestowal of charitable help. The trying atmosphere of depression natural to a community where every man is so far a failure must be endured and counteracted. A reality of positive moral health must continually radiate life throughout the institution, overcoming the evil influence which emanates from the association of those who are morally weak. Ultimately each man's sin and shame must be understood, till the smirch of it is felt in one's own soul by the sympathy of understanding, and must be met by the answer of a strong, life-giving spirit.

The same is true of the work of clubs and settlements. It requires above all things men and women who do not shrink from the responsibility of influencing other lives. Whether we will or not our contact with others will mould them: if our character is shaped to

little ends it will belittle others, if it is attuned to high ideals it will inspire. The measure of our work will be the personality which we bring to it. The fundamental need we are called to meet is the need of character. The future depends upon there being in the country a sufficient fund of personality, a sufficient wealth of character, ready to be placed at the disposal of those in need. Can we meet the demand?

On a first examination it may appear that there is a sufficient capital of character in reserve for our national needs. In spite of the large number of those who are unable to maintain themselves without help,—one in thirty in many places is receiving poor relief, and a much larger number is receiving voluntary charity,—in spite of the still greater number of those who are growing up amid surroundings which tend to undermine their character, the large majority of our people have not only enough resource to maintain themselves but also something to spare for others.

But, granted that we have this capital in strong and independent character, is it available? To use a commercial phrase, is it negociable? Can it, will it be transferred to the quarters where it is most needed? Will those who are thrifty teach their thrift patiently to those who are not? Will those who are industrious bear with the idlers till they too are inspired to be industrious? Will those who are resourceful and who have administrative gifts place their talents at the disposal of those who have none? Will the strong give their strength and the successful tell their secret? Or shall we find that on

the whole the fund of character is locked away in idleness or lavished in spendthrift luxury, probity standing contemptuously apart from moral weakness, culture becoming fastidious and false?

The answer to these questions is less easy. It depends upon the level of real charity in the community, the charity which "suffereth long and is kind, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up"; the charity which "seeketh not her own." Though we have a plethora of business integrity, resource, and self-control, and have not this charity, "it profiteth us nothing." As a nation, have we this charity? Individuals may have it; does it abound? Does the tide of public feeling flow steadily in sympathetic zeal for its poor? Surely it does not. The level of real charity is low. The average successful man does not "care" for the unsuccessful; the average good man is not careworn for the failure of the bad. If this is so we cannot reasonably hope that the nation will yield a sufficiency of character to redeem its lost. Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?

Let us examine the public record to test the quality of our citizenship. Take, for example, the record of local government. Local authorities have powers which enable them to prevent many of the abuses which give rise to our worst problems. They can govern housing conditions through their bye-laws; they can interfere to make bad landlords do their duty. Is this done? As a matter of fact good laws remain inoperative for want of local initiative. It is one of the features of our British legislation to make certain

advances permissive rather than compulsory, awaiting the time in each locality when public opinion will be ripe for putting them into force. Persons with initiative are required to lead the public thought of their neighbourhood. Such initiative can hardly be expected from the denizens of the slum, who are usually unskilled; it is the proper function of the educated part of the community. John Burns replied to a deputation which waited upon him to ask for Housing Reform Legislation that they would have been better employed in inducing their local councils to put the present law into force. The local authorities are often apathetic about the health, education, and morals of their poor. That is to say the public is apathetic. Therefore when pregnant reforms become possible—such as the planning of the city's growth for the welfare of its citizens, or the appointment of health visitors for the safety of its children—they do not become actual because of the inertia of a careless public.

The carelessness of the public shows itself most flagrantly in the *personnel* of our Councils. It is notorious how many builders sit upon Borough Councils to control their bye-laws, how many tradesmen become Poor Law Guardians to influence the Workhouse contracts, how many votes are cast by men as shareholders and not as citizens. It is a sad commentary upon our public life that individuals should demean themselves to defend or promote their trade interests by seeking place on public committees. But the more serious matter is the general lack of disinterested

citizenship which this implies. It means that there are not good men who care enough for their cities to oust the candidates who are ruled by political ambition or by private gain. It means that the voting public does not care enough to find and to appoint the right men. An instance of the apathy of the public occurred the other day in Birmingham in the appointment of the responsible body to which we commit the lives of our local poor—the Board of Guardians. In this election, out of 7818 eligible voters, only 170 presented themselves at the polling-stations. This was not due to deficient arrangements. At a cost of £80, thirteen polling stations were provided, and each of them was open for eight hours. At one of these centres, each of which was staffed with a presiding officer, a poll clerk, and a policeman, only one vote was recorded, and that the vote of the caretaker! Public opinion was indifferent to the issue.

Moreover, where public opinion is indifferent, private abuses grow rampant; where public opinion is alert, private activity conforms to the same standard. Recently in New Zealand a strong local option was expressed by vote in favour of prohibition in several districts and of reduction of licences in others. The immediate result was a meeting of the liquor trade in Auckland at which it was unanimously decided to cease the employment of barmaids, to abolish private bars, and to raise the age-limit of youths who may be supplied with liquor from eighteen to twenty, on the ground that the "trade must be conducted on lines approved by the public at large."

A second test of our citizenship is the care or neglect of the poor which we show as investors, as buyers, and as neighbours. We take first the matter of investment. We need not dwell upon the notorious disregard of human life that is exposed from time to time in special trades, in dangerous processes, and in sweated industries. The average is not represented by these lurid facts. But on the average is it not the case that landlords are not careful of their tenants, and that shareholders are not careful of their employées? They do not scan the wage-sheet or the time-sheet of the Companies from which they draw their dividends. They do not inquire the conditions of the workpeople under firms with which their savings are lodged. They even take profit from articles whose use they entirely condemn.

As buyers we are not better than we are as investors. What demands do we make? Our demands determine what articles others shall produce, and incidentally the lives they will lead in producing them.[1] Cheap articles mean, broadly speaking, cheap workmanship; and cheap workmanship is the bane of industry. It condemns men to work which requires little skill and yields little interest, which reacts adversely upon the worker's mind, and which is generally associated with a wage too low for a decent existence. How much consideration does this fact receive in our purchases? Further, how

[1] Professor Marshall in *The Economics of Industry* (pp. 1, 2) ranks these economic forces second only to religious forces in their influence over human character.

far do we consider where and of whom we should buy? In certain places and in certain trades the names of firms which fulfil certain conditions in the matter of hours and wages have been made public.[1] But the public on the whole is indifferent to these things.

As neighbours our reputation is summed up in the fact that the conditions of the saddest lives are scarcely known to us. Some broad averages and statistical comparisons are becoming known. We are told of high mortality in slum areas, the record of long hours and poor wages in sweated trades, and other such general facts connected with the lives of the poor in masses. We are beginning to understand what these figures represent in power to purchase the necessaries of life, but this knowledge is not yet linked with sufficient sympathy and imagination. We do not realise what these things mean in daily and hourly experience. We do not measure the strain of life from month to month and year to year. We do not picture the sadness and tragedy of it all. The fact is we have shunned our neighbours. So far from seeking out the poor to help them, we have let them drift past us unconsidered. No wonder we have not become workers in boys' clubs if we have neglected to know the errand boys who come to our own doors. We have delegated our responsibility in bulk to special "societies," renouncing our personal guardianship of lives which touch ours daily, and salving our conscience by money gifts. But "no system or

[1] The Christian Social Union has undertaken these inquiries in some quarters. Various unions exist for the suppression of Sweating: see Appendix.

organisation, however perfect, can remove the canker from the social life of a country, the citizens of which hope to contract by donations, however liberal, for its reform. It is by our justice to our employées, by our example to our friends, by our kindness to our neighbours, by our zeal in the fulfilment of citizen duties, by our tender personal care of those who are fallen by the way, or who have strayed; in short, it is by long years of noble, many-sided life, that we can root out the evils around us."[1]

Many evils in the lives of the poor are caused by the wealthy. In all matters of social behaviour it is the wealthy who set the fashions, and they have set fashions of indulgence and of excess which have been followed throughout all ranks of society, and with most damage to those classes who can offer least physical or mental resistance to the hold of evil practices. Some of these practices, such as the indulgence in intoxicating drink, have descended from previous generations of the well-to-do. But the present generation is to blame for the passion for pleasure and sport in which the example of those who can more readily afford the time and money for these things is working havoc in the lives of multitudes of poorer folk. "We alter others—by altering ourselves. The rich, who claim to be also educated, can do what they will with the poor and the ignorant, if their claim is valid. They can do it not by their money, nor by any wise device of legislative reform, but only and always by their own example, and in no other way

[1] *C.O.S. Occasional Papers*, 1896.

whatever. A religious 'upper class' would solve the problem of irreligion without a single mission; a temperate 'upper class' would make temperance reform a work of supererogation; a self-controlled 'upper class,' which should realise that simplicity is in better taste than luxury, would have no cause to grieve over the self-indulgence and foolish extravagances of the poor. We are always asking what can be done to make the people better and happier, and philanthropists hasten to tell us a thousand ways, some harmless and some not. But the door of social betterment stands open the while; there is no key to be searched for and found, for none is needed. The children of the poor follow where they are led; their 'betters' are the leaders, and the example of their life determines the path."[1]

By a double test our citizenship is proved to be deficient. We have not held ourselves responsible for the physical and spiritual welfare of the poor. If we had done so we should have prevented half the evil through our public activity as citizens, and done away with the other half through our private activity as neighbours, that is to say as friends. We have failed in our social responsibilities. We talk about reclaiming others, and we need to be reclaimed ourselves. In the narrow society to which we have been attached we may have proved worthy, but we have proved unworthy of the wider society of the State. Society as a whole is sick, and society as a whole needs to be reclaimed.

[1] *Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities*, E. J. Urwick, p. 318.

The final test of our society is the character of our industrial relationships, the degree to which the spirit of friendship is able to triumph over the spirit of selfishness in the hard sphere of work? Men are called upon to be considerate of each other with their livelihood as the stake, and they habitually fail. The difficulty has proved overwhelming: not only do individuals dismiss the attempt and the majority stumble into failure; failure has become the rule and disavowal the principle. We excuse our surrender with pathetic words about the rigidity of economic laws and the need of running business upon business principles. Thereby we deny the possibility of brotherhood as the basis of life. Selfishness is made the basis, and brotherhood an ornament to be added if it may. Business is strife; mitigated, it is true, with kindness, but essentially strife. Constantly in the course of this inquiry we have found ourselves confronted with a situation for which no adequate help was offered: in each case the problem has been a problem of industry. Mothers are at work when they should be caring for their children, children are at work when they should be at school, lads are doing work which unfits them for the future, unskilled labour is increasing, and making labour at once more precarious and less inspiring, men in their prime are thrown out of employment, and men with defects in their physique or moral record cannot find it. Why? Because business cannot tolerate anything that is not cheap. Mothers and children are cheap, boys are cheap, and so they are

employed—though they be damned by their employ ment. Skilled men, older men, weaker men, are dear. So they are not employed, though it means starvation for them. Of course this cheapness, in the long run, is very costly for the community. But for the moment and for the individual it sometimes seems impossible to do anything else. In its blind scramble—

> "This mad unthrift world,
> Every hour throws life enough away
> To make her deserts kind and hospitable."

The brunt of the battle must always be endured by the weakest and poorest. It is they who feel first and most severely the fluctuations of trade. The least trained, the lowest paid, the oldest are the first to lose employment. Charity organisers have taught us of a class of the community whose members may at any moment, by an unconsidered gift of ours, be allured from their independence. The implication is terrible: a whole class of the community finds the struggle of life so keen that it is tempted to forego its self-respect for the easier path of dependence upon charitable help. Our goods are made by a system which incidentally oppresses the poor. We cannot escape the guilt involved in this fact. We profit by the traffic in human lives.[1] H. G. Wells puts the matter forcibly and truly when he writes: "Every time you leave Charing Cross for the Continent, for example, there are all those horrible slums on either side of the line. These things are, you know, a part

1 "There is no clean money in England." See the article by Wm. Temple in the *Economic Review*, April 1908, entitled *The Church and the Labour Party.*

of your system, part of you; they are the reverse of that splendid fabric and no separate thing; the wide, rich tapestry of your lives comes through on the other side, stitch for stitch in stunted bodies, in children's deaths."

But attention concentrated upon the slum and the sweated worker misses the really significant fact that these are the appropriate by-products of modern industry. In modern industry the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong. A system which is careless of the weak inevitably casts up much wreckage. But the percentage of the population which is in actual distress is small, compared with that larger number which lives ever in the shadow of want. Multitudes who are not actually submerged find the struggle so bitter and so relentless that life is robbed of its legitimate joy. The unskilled clerk in fierce competition for a place that will barely keep him, cannot taste the true flavour of living. The small shopkeeper, perchance deficient in the art of managing well and buying cheaply, is crushed between the upper and nether millstones of bad debts and high rates: it is small wonder if his feelings are embittered toward his kind. Improvidence makes one poor family his debtors. Thoughtlessness keeps him waiting for payment from some richer neighbour; meantime the ardent reformer canvasses his enthusiasm for measures that will add appreciably to his burden. Faith and kindness are warped and twisted by the strain. The cruelty which crops out in glaring wrong to the ill-paid home workers runs through the whole system of industry, blighting lives and hardening hearts. Selfish-

ness in the division of the fruits of labour has caused the desire for maximum gain to overshadow every other consideration, so that the merchant does not feel in honour bound to produce only a good article and to employ labour only in such ways that character is built up thereby. On the contrary, public opinion is barely prepared to forbid such processes as are positively injurious to the physical efficiency of the worker: it is far from conceiving a state of industry in which labour shall be of a kind that develops capacity in the worker, and its rewards distributed in a way that promotes good feeling between masters and men.[1]

Science is impatient of the present failure to go to the roots of the disease. Some broad measure of social reform is looked for expectantly from every quarter. The Socialist has put forward a proposal which claims to do away with the competitive basis of industry. The claim cannot be discussed here. It is a claim which every man who cares a whit for his fellows is bound to examine carefully, and which every Christian must devoutly hope to be true. Christianity is chafed by the contradiction between its principles and the common practice. A yearning for a kindlier system moves through all ranks of society. Merchants, manufacturers, workmen alike recoil from the horrible knowledge of the hurt they constantly do to each other. But whatever change may come, it will have to reckon with the spirit of class hatred and distrust, warring against agreement, and the spirit of personal selfishness clinging

[1] *Cf.* Ruskin's portrait of the True Merchant in *Unto this Last.*

to existing privileges. For whether as the product or the cause of the present competitive system, these things exist. It is our ingrained habit to get and hold what we can, isolating and exalting our own claim above the claim of the society to which we belong. We cannot sever our connection with the system in which we live. It is the expression of our spirit, approximately correct. It cannot be changed unless we first change, except by some dramatic national conversion transforming our ideals and institutions simultaneously and bringing in a new tide of life.

The Social Problem is by no means exclusively the Problem of Poverty. It is the Problem of Society—how society may become more social, more civil, more careful of its members, more religious. It is not primarily the problem of the poor, how they may become more thrifty. It is not primarily the problem of the rich, how they may be made more just It is essentially a problem of every class, how each may become more considerate, more friendly. The man of leisure and the man of toil, the artisan, the tradesman, and the professional man, alike need a greater measure of the spirit of citizenship. They are equally involved in the charge of neglect which has been made. They have been equally indifferent to the outcast, equally open to the appeal against rising rates, equally ready to legislate in the interests of their own class. In every quarter there is a dearth of the spirit of brotherhood. The neglect of the poor by the rich is no isolated fact due to the gulf in their circumstances or their education. It is not due to the fact that distance, either

social or geographical, makes them unknown to each other; rather it is due to a spirit of indifference which makes the smallest distance impossible to span. The thinnest partition walls are allowed to divide us from one another's confidence and interest. Each of us has his little enclosure outside of which he does not love. Beyond it we make our fitful and inconstant excursions of sympathy and pity. We do not consistently and impartially love our fellow-men.[1]

The problem of Rescue for the outcasts of our civilisation has led us successively to the problem of increasing the spirit of neighbourliness throughout all ranks of society, and to the problem of conducting the business of life upon a basis of brotherhood. We have not been able in this chapter, as we were in the earlier chapters, to write of societies and methods for meeting the need. The problem is of a different order: the remedy is of another kind. We cannot help one another here, for we are all judged and found wanting. We have not enough of the qualities of love to keep our own lives sweet. We have not a close enough hold of God. We cannot help one another—as strong ones lending their strength to the weak ones. We can only help one another as weak ourselves, seeking together to cast ourselves in all our weakness upon God.

[1] Attention is now being turned to the teaching of citizenship. See *The Education of Citizens*, by Wm. Temple, 4d., and *Training in the Service of Man*, by S. L. Paton, 3d. (both from the Workers' Bookroom). The Christian Social Service Unions are active in this matter.

The world needs more of God, more of His love, more of the certainty of His presence. For it is not our help, but God's help, that men need, not our life, but His. The lost cannot be redeemed by our righteousness, but only by the righteousness that is in Christ Jesus. If others are to be saved through us, it will not be through our sharing with them our human goodness, but through our testimony to the divine goodness. The deepest misery of men, however little they are aware of it, is their alienation from God. They are famished for the bread of life. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." Much of our philanthropy is impotent because it does not recognize the spiritual basis of human need. "Where there is no vision, the people perish." In our haste to do good to men's bodies, we have forgotten men's souls, and lost our direct touch with God. "The thing has been known—perhaps I ought to say that it has been often known in our time. In the multitude of philanthropies, God Himself has faded out of men's lives. And so, not only do they never grow themselves to the full stature of a perfect man in Christ Jesus, but they fail those whom they have made their friends, just when their need is greatest. They will do anything for them but the highest thing of all." [1]

The highest service we can render men is to come to them, not as those would come who have succeeded and are rich in strength, but rather as those who have failed and are rich in the knowledge of forgiveness. Even the recognition of our own complicity in the downfall of our

[1] *Nobler Cares*, by George Hare Leonard, p. 63.

neighbours, of our own defect in generous thought and passionate care for others, need not dry up the freshly-opened springs of our desire to help them now. The more crushing we find the weight of evil to be, and the more we are forced down into the depths of sin, the higher we shall ultimately rise in faith and in power to overcome it, if only in sincere penitence we seek and find forgiveness. "Where sin abounds, grace doth yet more abound."

In the strength of that forgiveness we can face confidently the problem of rescuing the outcast; with equal confidence we can face the problem of creating the spirit of brotherhood in the community. The intolerance and impatience with which we view the flaws and weaknesses in others, our cowardice and prejudice in complying with the conventions of our class may be swept away by the flowing tide of God's spirit in penitent hearts. There is a love which, counting all men dear, delights to renounce its privileges and to forsake its comfortable ways in order to serve them. Our Lord Jesus Christ has taught us that true friendship hungers and thirsts after fellowship with men, and the lives of those of His disciples who follow Him most closely, teach the same lesson. We may even have felt this fitfully in our own lives; but it is only when His spirit comes in new measure that we can adequately meet the demands made upon us as friends and neighbours. Only love like His can carry us into the hearts of men.

If this love has not yet been manifested it is because

the disciples of Jesus have drifted into shallows and backwaters, instead of venturing out upon the broad current of God's love for men. They have narrowed their affections to a small circle of friends until their love has dwindled and failed. "Even Christian faith becomes insipid and ineffective unless it confronts the world, and is proved in the actualities and conflicts of life. But coteries and conventions do not perhaps mislead so many as the charm and happiness of what is probably counted a Christian home. It is not uncommon to see life narrowed in such circumstances to the circle of domestic affections. It is pure, beautiful, amiable, truly happy; but it has no interests beyond itself. The conflicts of the world rage round it, but it is not troubled by them; all that calls for effort, sacrifice, blood, is ignored. The Lord's battle is going on against powerful forces of evil,—pride, sensuality, secularism, false patriotism, drunkenness, greed—but the numbers of such families are not in it. Their life is refined, retired, accomplished perhaps, but bloodless."[1] Life without a great love is not truly Christian. Love, like life, must find expression. The expression of life is growth and progress: the expression of love is brotherhood and redemption.

When Jesus vanquished evil upon Calvary and opened the gates of new life to men this spirit of love became their inheritance. And it seems as though men were now ready to seek their inheritance with that importunity

[1] From an article by Dr Denny published in the *Expositor*, May 1908.

to which Jesus assured an answer. The highest may be nearer than we dared to believe. The power we need is not unavailable: it is only latent. All things are possible to him that believeth. We are not straitened in God: but in our own capacity for receiving we are sorely straitened. The love that is generated at the Cross of Christ finds itself in the devotion of discipleship, and a new and deeper interpretation of what that means would involve the liberation of immeasurable power.[1]

Are we ready to set limits to that power? We acknowledge the transformation of individual lives by the Spirit of Jesus Christ. May not a similar transformation pass upon our whole life, industrial, commercial, and national? His spirit must leaven all life, and affect every human relationship, using every vehicle for its fuller expression, inspiring legislation, education, and industry. The tests by which individual lives are judged must not be shrunk from when society is being tried. He "before whom will be gathered all nations," has set the standards. These standards can no longer be neglected. Blindness may explain the failure of the past. But this generation is not blind. We are aware of the good or evil which we do to one another through the ordering of our common affairs. If the spirit of love were quickened in the midst of us, many of the accepted social arrangements would become intolerable. Nothing could condone the disloyalty to Christ that would fail to regulate every relationship

[1] *Discipleship and the Social Problem.* Student Christian Movement, 1909.

according to His Spirit. The Church of to-morrow must seek with conscious and set purpose to transform the national life.

Such a purpose can remain unshaken only in the strength of a great faith. Resolutely it must confront the forces of selfishness entrenched in custom and in law. The spirit of privilege will offer stubborn resistance to the rule of brotherhood, and progress must be gradual. We cannot leap to the perfect state; we must walk towards it. Without setting bounds to the range or rapidity of the transformation, we must be ready for compromise and partial success. At such times faith may falter. In the welter of political and commercial life it may seem incredible that brotherhood should ever be accepted as the basis of human relationships. The belief in the brotherhood of man will then be saved only by a sublime faith in his sonship to God. The testimony of man against himself will be overborne by the testimony of Jesus Christ that man's life can be lifted into the life of God. He alone who has dealt seriously with sin can convince us that sin has been overcome.

Our hope lies in God as revealed in Jesus Christ. For that reason we dare not relax effort. If society is to be changed society must become conscious of its inheritance in God. The present disregard of God as the supreme factor in daily life must pass away, and the thoughts of Jesus about God and man must become current. Therefore, the world needs pioneers in faith. The highest call that comes to any man is the call to

become attentive to the voice of God for his generation. To this end men must withdraw from the bustle of their activities and the rush of their prayerless lives and school themselves to wait in silence upon God. They must resist the allurements of every other form of work and of every other desire in order to commune with God in Christ, for God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself. When the evil of the world is heavy upon their hearts they must seek a clearer vision of the change that will be wrought when the disciples of Jesus Christ shall have become submissive to His Spirit. What is that vision? "As I look, it seems to me that their brotherhood has changed the aspect of the world. The outward change is notable here and there. Monstrous wealth is gone, with its apparatus of luxury and ostentation; and miserable degradation and poverty are gone with their apparatus of tavern and jail and workhouse. But Mankind still go about their business and their pleasure; there is still toil and rest, still joy and sorrow, still success and failure. Yet there is rest and reward for the toiler; the mourner is comforted; there is no arrogance in success, no bitterness in failure; because Christians have learned, and mankind is learning, that the cause of every man is the cause of all men and the cause of God." [1]

[1] *The Reproach of the Gospel*, Rev. J. H. F. Peile, p. 199.

BOOKS FOR FURTHER READING

Chapter VI

The Reproach of the Gospel. Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1907, by Rev. J. H. F. Peile. 199 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., 1908. 5s. net.

Discipleship and the Social Problem. A New Call to the Student Christian Movement. Matlock, 1909. 32 pages. 1d.

Unto this Last. By John Ruskin. 6d. paper, 1s. cloth, 1s. 6d. leather, etc., all net prices (Geo. Allen). There is also a penny edition published by Collins.

Nobler Cares. By George Hare Leonard. 66 pages. W. C. Hemmons, St Stephen Street, Bristol, 1908. 1s. net

The Greatest Thing in the World, by Henry Drummond. Hodder & Stoughton. 1s. and 2s. 6d. net.

APPENDIX

SOCIAL SERVICE NOTES

A.—PAID POSTS — Chap. I.

1. Sanitary Inspector

Appointments are made by the Health Committees of County, Borough, or District Councils.

Official information can be obtained from the Clerk to the Council at the Town Hall or County Offices.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Sanitary Association, 13 Charles Street, St James's Street, S.W.

In Scotland it is obligatory on candidates to hold the certificate of the Sanitary Association of Scotland. Full information as to training, etc., may be had from Mr George Middleton, the Secretary of the Sanitary Association of Scotland, Bath Street, Glasgow. Candidates for posts in London must hold the Certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Board, Adelaide Buildings, London Bridge Street. Candidates for the Provinces require the certificate of the Royal Sanitary Institute, 90 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.

2. Factory Inspector

Appointments are made by the Home Secretary, subject to nominations and examination.

Official information can be obtained from the Private Secretary, the Home Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Women's Trade Union and Labour Council: Miss MacArthur, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell.

3. Medical Officer of Health

Appointments are made by the Health Committees of County, Borough, or District Councils.

Official information can be obtained from the Local Government Board, Whitehall, S.W.

PAID POSTS—*continued* Chap. I.

4. Health Visitor

Official information can be obtained from the Medical Officer of Health at the Town Hall or County Offices.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the National League of Physical Improvement, 11 Southampton Row, London, W.C.

5. District Nurse

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses, 58 Victoria Street, S.W.

6. Rent Collector

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from Miss Hill of 190 Marylebone Road, London, W., the Social Unions in Scotland, and the British Institute of Social Service.

"Any lady thinking of the management of houses must be prepared to give at least a year to serious training for it. Miss Octavia Hill would give further information to any lady who was prepared to devote the necessary time to be trained and who could live in London. But her opportunities of training are very limited, and openings for work depend on the worker possessing special characteristics, so that it is no use writing to her, unless the matter has been well thought out."

7. Welfare Manager, or Social Secretary of Large Works

These posts are frequently filled by those who have received a training as workers with the Charity Organisation Society.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from that Society, or the British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, W.C.

B.—VOLUNTARY WORK Chap. I.

1. Health Visitor

The work involves regular weekly or fortnightly visiting, the number of cases varying according to time at disposal. Sometimes attendance at committee is also required.

For fuller information write to the National League of Physical Improvement, 11 Southampton Row, London, W.C.

2. Invalid Children's Aid Association

"The work falls under two heads, (1) Secretarial work in our office, and (2) Personal visiting in the district. It involves one or two mornings a week of two hours' work, or sometimes more. The time given must be definitely specified beforehand. We could easily find work for 500 more helpers."

For fuller information write to the Secretary of the Association, 69 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES Chap. I.

The National Housing Reform Council (18 Dulverton Road, Leicester) exists to promote national reform and local activity in the interests of better housing. It is associated with similar Councils all over the world.

The National Health Society (53 Berners Street, London, W.), exists "to diffuse a knowledge of the laws of health among all classes." It arranges training courses for health visitors, organises health visiting, and publishes pamphlets for wide circulation.

The National League for Physical Education and Improvement (11 Southampton Row, London, W.C.) has similar objects: its distinctive work is chiefly that of unifying and extending organised effort. It supplies information about local Health Visiting Associations.

The Garden Cities Town Planning and Housing Association (602 Birkbeck Chambers, Holborn, London, W.C.) exists to educate opinion and promote local and national legislation. It publishes a monthly magazine, *The Garden City*, price 1d.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, 40 Leicester Square, London, W.C.

1. Elementary School Teacher
2. School Inspector

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the National Union of Teachers, 67 and 71 Russell Square, W.C.

3. Special School Teacher

Appointments are made by the Education Committees of County, Borough, or District Councils.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the National Special Schools Union, Secretary, Mr Dodds, Victoria Road Special School, Peckham, S.E.

4. Medical Inspector of Schools

Appointments are made by the Education Committees, County, Borough, or District Councils. Official information can be obtained from the Clerk.

5. School Nurse

Appointments are made by the Education Committees, as above.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Royal Sanitary Institute, 90 Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.

6. Teacher in Industrial or Reformatory School

Official information can be obtained from the Inspector of Reformatories, Home Office, Whitehall, S.W.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 117 Victoria Street, S.W.

7. Matron or Assistant in Children's Refuge

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 117 Victoria Street, S.W., who also publish a complete list of these institutions, price 1s. 6d.

1. Country Holidays

"Helpers are wanted both in London and in the country. In London each one visits the homes of a few children several times to make the arrangements with the parents and afterwards sees the children off and meets them on their return. In the country helpers supervise the children's play."

For fuller information, write to the Children's Country Holiday Fund, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C. The Poor Children's Holiday Fund, Edinburgh, etc.

2. Play Centres

Evening Play Centres Committee: Hon Sec., Mrs Humphry Ward, 25 Grosvenor Place, S.W. The work involves at least one night each week (5.30-7.30).

Children's Happy Evenings Association: Hon. Sec., Mrs Bland-Sutton, 47 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, W. "The work involves two hours weekly in the evening (5-7 or 6-8) from September to May."

Edinburgh Play Centres: Mrs Craig, 9 Learmonth Terrace, Edinburgh.

3. Children's Care Committee Work

"The work involves anything from attendance at Committees two hours once a fortnight (regularly) to five full days' work a week. Those who can only give irregular time can also be used, *e.g.*, they can befriend and take charge of one or more families, and can fit in their visits when convenient to these their friends and themselves. The only condition is that they should report fortnightly."

For fuller information see *Children's Care Committees*, 86 pp., P. S. King, 1909; or write to Miss Morton, 28 The Pryors, Hampstead, N.W.

4. School Manager or Member of School Board (Scotland)

The only fixed work is attending monthly meetings—when a manager visits a school. The manager has special opportunities of promoting the health and general welfare of the scholars.

For fuller information write to the Education Committee of the Local Council.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES Chap. II.

The Parents' National Educational Union. (Mrs Lock, 26 Victoria Street, London, S.W.) exists to assist parents of all classes to understand the best principles and methods of education, especially in the formation of habits and character.

Dr Barnardo's Homes. The Honorary Director, 18-26 Stepney Causeway, E.

A.—PAID POSTS Chap. III.

1. Teacher in Trade School

Appointments are made by the Education Committees of County and Borough Councils, and governing bodies of private institutions.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the British Intsitute of Social Service.

2. Teacher in Continuation School

Appointments are made by the Education Committees of County, Borough, or District Councils, or private bodies.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the National Union of Teachers, 67 and 71 Russell Square, W.C.

3. Public Librarian

Appointments are made by Borough or District Councils.

Official information can be obtained from the Librarians' Association, 24 Whitcomb Street, W.C.

4. Club Manager

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from National League of Workers with Boys: Hon. Sec., J. H. Whitehouse, University Settlement, Ancoats, Manchester.

Federation of Working Girls' Clubs, 26 George Street, Hanover Square, W.

Girls' Club Sectional Committee of the National Union of Women Workers: Hon. Sec., Mrs Arnold Glover, 10 Leonard Place, Kensington, W.

Clubs Industrial Association: Hon. Sec., Hon. L. Montagu, 12 Kensington Palace Gardens, W.

B.—VOLUNTARY WORK Chap. III.

1. Apprenticeship Committee Work

The work involves (*a*) regular Committee work plus as much time as possible given to personal friendships with boys and girls and their parents, or (*b*) time given to the investigation of local trades and conditions.

For fuller information write to the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association, 55 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W. ; or to H. Maxwell, Esq., Cluny Drive, Edinburgh.

2. Boys' Club Worker
3. Girls' Club Worker

The work involves at least one evening or Saturday afternoon each week.

For fuller information write to the addresses given on p. 165.

4. Brigade Helper

Boys' Brigade, 30 George Square, Glasgow.

Church Lads' Brigade, Aldwych House, Catherine Street, Aldwych, W.C.

London Diocesan Church Lads' Brigade, 23 Northumberland Avenue, Charing Cross, W.C.

Catholic Boys' Brigade : Hon. Sec., Rev. F. Segesser, 1 Parker's Row, Bermondsey, S.E.

Jewish Lads' Brigade, 21 Bucklersbury, E.C.

Boys' and Girls' Life Brigades, 56 Old Bailey, E.C.

Boy Scouts, Headquarters : 116 and 118 Victoria Street, S.W.

The Girls' Guildry : Dr W. F. Somerville, 14 Southport Terrace, Hillhead, Glasgow.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES Chap. III.

The National Home Reading Union (Miss Pridham, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, W.C.) exists to guide readers in the use of books. It has a young people's section for boys an girls up to the age of fifteen or sixteen in elementary or secondary schools, and a special introductory course for working men and women. Its subject list includes history, citizenship, nature-study, poetry, biography, and travel.

The Girl's Friendly Society, 39 Victoria Street, S.W., befriends girls who cannot belong to any Girls' Club because of their working hours.

Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants (Miss Poole, Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, Victoria, S.W.) exists particularly for girls from Industrial Schools and Poor Law Schools.

The Y.W.C.A., 26 George Street, Hanover Square, W., gives special attention to factory girls.

A.—PAID POSTS Chap. IV.

1. Relieving Officer
2. Poor Law Official

Appointments are made by Boards of Guardians (Parish Councils in Scotland) and by the Local Government Board.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from Mrs Sidney Webb, 5 and 6 Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The School of Sociology and Social Economics (Hon. Sec., Mrs G. F. Hill, 10 Kensington Mansions, Earl's Court, S.W.) has a course of lectures and holds examinations for Relieving Officers.

The Women's Local Government Society, 17 Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W., is interested in the appointment of women as Relieving Officers.

3. Charity Organisation Society Secretary

Official information can be obtained from the Secretary, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W., or 19 Rutland Street, Edinburgh.

4. Guild of Help Secretary

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, E.C., who have information from all the existing Guilds.

5. Hospital Almoner

Appointments are made by the Hospital Committees.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Hospital Almoners' Council, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

6. Warden or Secretary of Settlement

Settlements Association: Hon. Sec., Percy Alden, M.P., Mansfield, Loughton.

B.—VOLUNTARY WORK Chap. IV.

1. Guild Helper

"The work involves (1st) regular attendance at the fortnightly or monthly meeting of the District Committee, which is held in the evening. (2nd) The visitation and care of not more than four families in poor circumstances. This naturally varies considerably according to the circumstances of the family, and though it must be done regularly, one cannot say exactly how much time that would take up. It is always heavier in the winter than in the summer."

For fuller information write to the British Institute of Social Service, 11 Southampton Row, W.C.

2. Charity Organisation Committee Worker

"We could find some use for any worker of average capacity, at any day or hour, and for any period of time. It should be done quite regularly, even if it were only for half an hour once a week."

For fuller information write to the Charity Organisation Society, Denison House, 296 Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.

3. Settlement Resident

"The work involves a good portion of one's leisure, say, three nights a week."

For fuller information write to the Settlement Association: Percy Alden, Mansfield, Loughton, Essex.

4. Poor Law Guardian or Member of Parish Council (Scotland)

The work involves fortnightly Committees of a few hours, plus visiting, etc., at one's choice.

For fuller information write to Mrs Sidney Webb, 5 and 6 Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES Chap. IV.

Guild of Service (for Churchmen and Churchwomen connected with or interested in Poor Law and kindred institutions): Warden, H. Godfrey, Heathfield Gardens, Old Charlton.

Personal Service League: Miss Markham, 8 Gower Street, W.C.

The National Union of Women Workers, Parliament Mansions, Victoria Street, S.W., publishes useful tracts for Social Workers, *e.g.*, *Approved Methods of Thrift*, with a list of societies for its promotion: Mrs A. H. Johnson.

The National Committee to Promote the Break Up of the Poor Law. Offices: 5 and 6 Clement's Inn, Strand, London.

A.—PAID POSTS Chap. V.

1. Probation Officer

Appointments are made by the Magistrates.

Official information can be obtained from the Private Secretary, Home Office, Whitehall, London, S.W.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Pena Reform League : Captain St John, 7 Holly Village, Highgate, N.

2. Prison Warden, Governor, or Chaplain

Official information can be obtained from the Secretary to the Prison Commission.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from Howard Association, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C. ; and the Church Army, 55 Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, W.

3. Labour Home or Colony Official

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the the British Institute of Social Service, and from the Colonies themselves. (See list on p. 173.)

4. Matron of Rescue Home

Appointments are made by Diocesan and Local Societies.

Unofficial information and advice can be obtained from the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 117 Victoria Street, S.W.

B.—VOLUNTARY WORK Chap. V.

1. Probation Officer

The number of cases depends on Probation Officer's desires.

Information can be obtained from Church Army, 55 Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, W.; State Children's Association, 58 Old Broad Street, E.C.; Howard Association, Devonshire Chambers, Bishopsgate Street Without, E.C.

2. Prison Aid Society Worker

The work involves inquiries about the prisoner's home and work prior to his discharge, and subsequent supervision for a considerable time. For fuller information write to the Royal Society for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, Charing Cross, W.C.; the Metropolitan Auxiliary for Aiding Discharged Prisoners, 10 Freegrove Road, Caledonian Road, N.; the Prisoner's Aid Society, Edinburgh, or the Chaplain of any prison.

3. Refuge Helper

For information address the Reformatory and Refuge Union, 117 Victoria Street, S.W.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES Chap. V.

The Salvation Army, 101 Queen Victoria Street, E.C.; Headquarters of the Women's Social Work: Mrs Booth, 259 Mare Street, N.E.

The Church Army, 55 Bryanston Street, Marble Arch, W.

The Salvation Army Colony: The Governor, Hadleigh, Essex.

The Christian Social Service Union has Farm Colonies and Homes for Epileptic Children. London Office, 34 Paternoster Row, E.C.; Mr W. H. Hunt, Training Colony, Lingfield, Surrey; T. Gordon-Thomson, Starnthwaite, Westmoreland.

Hollesly Bay Labour Colony: Bolton Smart (Woodbridge Station), Suffolk.

The Church of Scotland Labour Homes, 22 Queen Street, Edinburgh.

The Penal Reform League (Captain St John, 7 Holly Village, Highgate, N.) exists (1) to obtain and circulate accurate information concerning criminals and their treatment. (2) To promote a sound public opinion on the subject. (3) To help to bring about a more complete and effective co-operation between the public and public servants for the reclamation of criminals by a curative and educative system. It has several small publications, of which *Discipline* is the best.

Borstal Association, 15 Buckingham Street, Strand.

C.—OTHER ADDRESSES

The British Institute of Social Service (11 Southampton Row, W.C.) is the national clearing-house for information on all branches of Social Service.

School of Sociology: Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.E.

The London School of Economics and Political Science, Clare Market, Kingsway, W.C.

The Central Bureau for the Employment of Women (Miss M. G. Spencer, 9 Southampton Street, High Holborn, W.C.) issues a guide to the professions and occupations of educated women, *The Fingerpost*, price 1s. 6d. net.

The Workers' Bookshop, 18A New Oxford Street, W. (under the management of the Central Bureau for the Employment of Women), has been established for the sale, distribution and display of books, pamphlets, magazines, and leaflets, issued by societies educational, political, technical, philanthropic, etc., which deal with women's work and interests, and whose publications have hitherto not been readily available at a central depot.

The National Anti-Sweating League (133 Salisbury Square, London, E.C.) exists to secure the payment of Minimum Wages to workers in the Sweated Trades. It has promoted the Sweated Industries Bill. It also arranges Exhibitions, and supplies lecturers and lantern slides upon Sweating and related questions. It is now beginning important work of investigation in many of the principal towns. It has a number of publications.

The Women's Industrial Council (7 John Street, Adelphi, Strand, W.C.) "watches over the interests of women engaged in trades, and over all industrial matters which concern women." It investigates conditions, educates opinion, and promotes legislation.

Christian Social Unions

The Christian Social Brotherhood. W. Reason, M.A., Macdonald Road, New Southgate, N.

The Christian Social Union. Rev. P. Dearmer, 102 Adelaide Road, N.W.

The Friends' Social Union. Percy Alden, M.P., Mansfield, Loughton.

The National Union for Christian Social Service, 34 Paternoster Row, E.C.

The Presbyterian Social Service Union. Rev. G. A. Wilson, M.A., 91 Grove Park, Camberwell, S.E.

The Primitive Methodist Social Service Union. Rev. Samuel Horton, 28 Machon Bank, Sheffield.

The Scottish Christian Social Union. Rev. C. Rolland Ramsey, 102 Bath Street, Glasgow.

The Wesleyan Methodist Union for Social Service. Rev. W. F. Lofthouse, M.A., Friary Road, Handsworth, Birmingham.

The League of Progressive Thought and Social Service. Organising Secretary, F. R. Swan, 27 Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

National Conference Union for Social Service. Secretaries, R. P. Farley, 11 Algernon Road, Kilburn, London, N.W., and Miss Catherine Gittins, Salisbury Road, Leicester.

Yearly Meeting Committee on Social Service (Friends). Secretary, Miss Lucy Gardner, 75 Sandringham Road, Dalston, London, N.W.

ANALYTICAL INDEX[1]

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CHAPTER II

[1] This analysis is intended for use in Study Circles, and does not profess to give a complete analysis of the contents.

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CHAPTER VI

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